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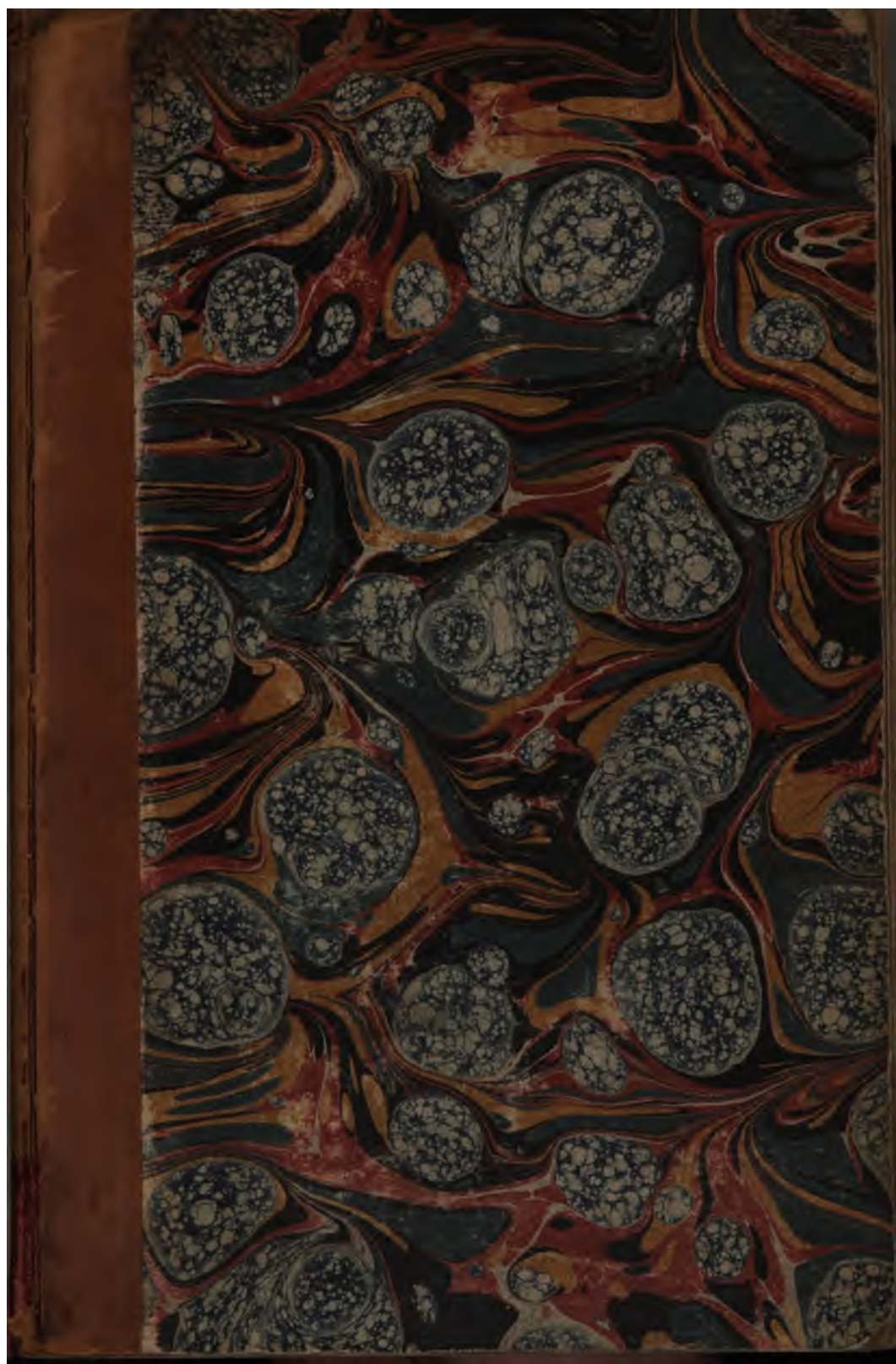
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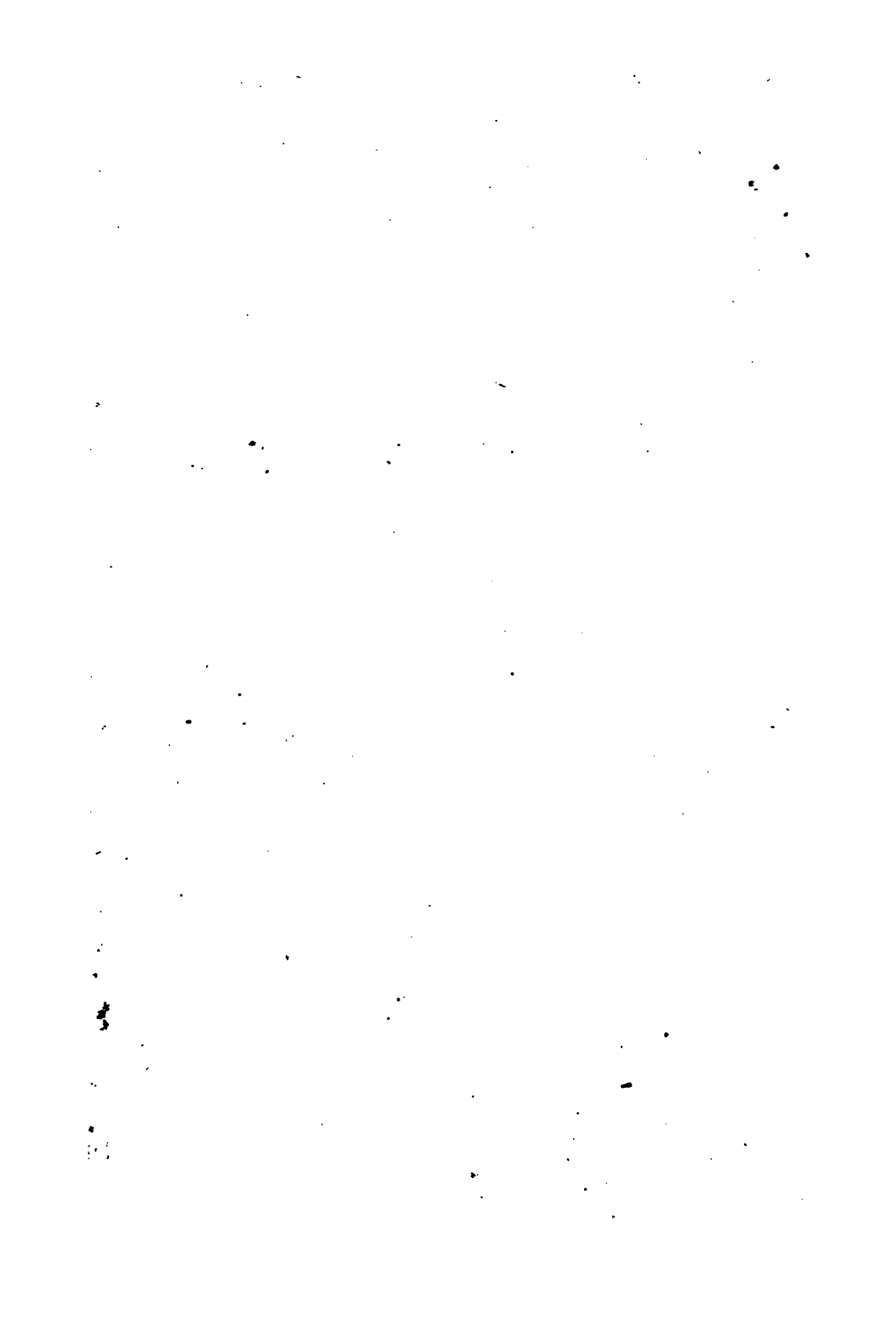
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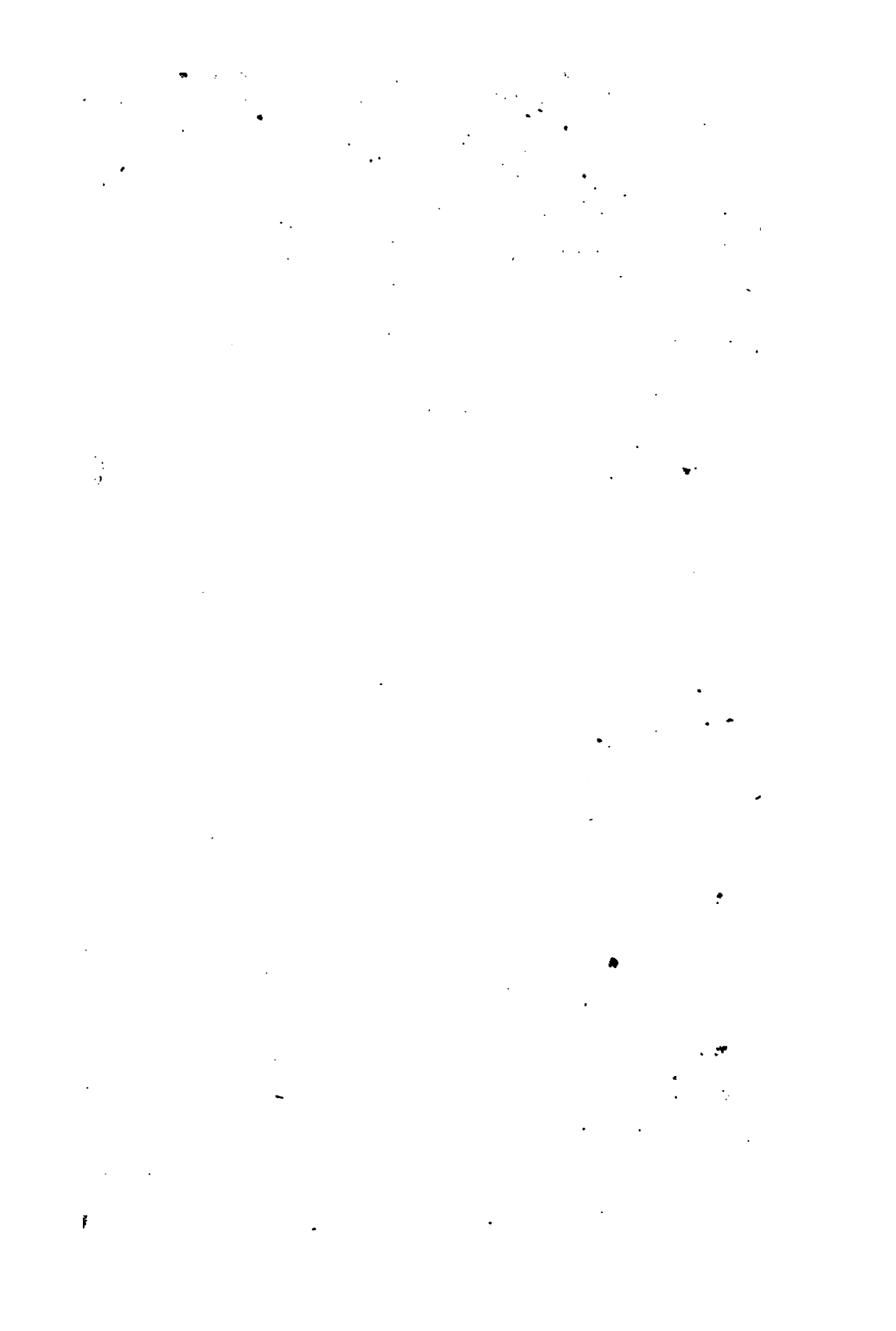




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M. KOSSUTH.—FROM A DACTYLOTYPE BY CLAUDET.

AUTHENTIC LIFE
OF
HIS EXCELLENCY
LOUIS KOSSUTH,

GOVERNOR OF HUNGARY.

**HIS PROGRESS FROM HIS CHILDHOOD TO HIS OVERTHROW BY THE
COMBINED ARMIES OF AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA,**

**WITH A FULL REPORT OF HIS
SPEECHES DELIVERED IN ENGLAND,**

**AT SOUTHAMPTON, WINCHESTER, LONDON, MANCHESTER.
AND BIRMINGHAM.**

**TO WHICH IS ADDED,
HIS ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**

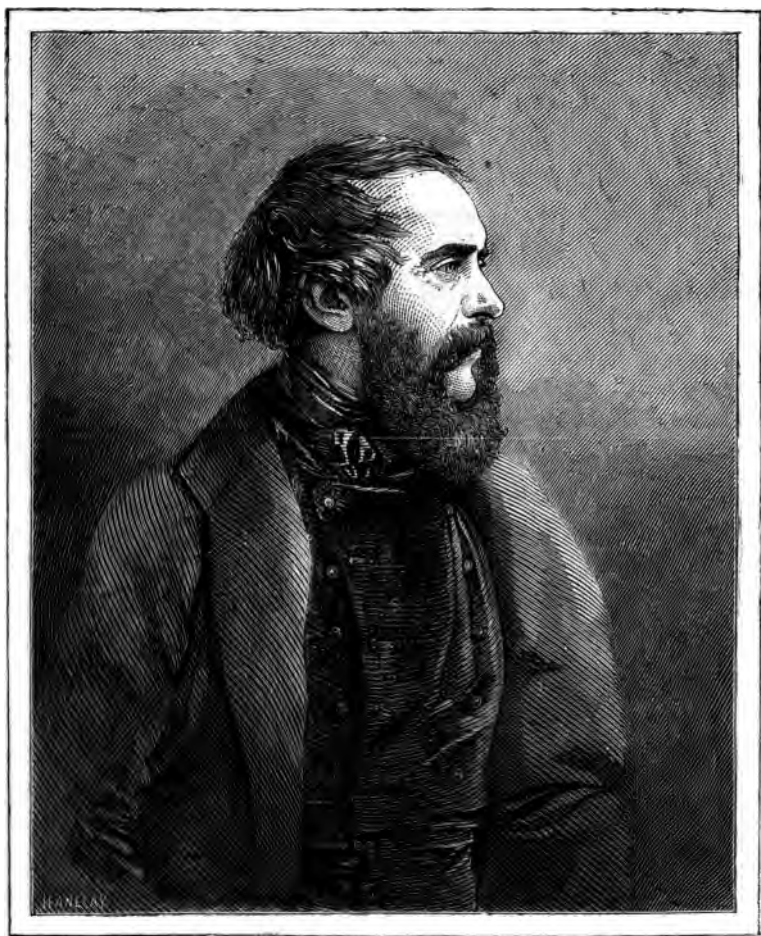
THE WHOLE EMBELLISHED WITH BEAUTIFUL ENGRAVINGS.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION TO M. KOSSUTH.

LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, 11, BOUVERIE STREET.
1851.



210. c. 170.



M. KOSUTH

INTRODUCTION.

KOSSUTH'S ELOQUENCE AND POLITICAL CHARACTER.

IN laying before the public a collection of the speeches of M. KOSSUTH, we must precede it by a few remarks on the man himself. Great differences of opinion, as is very natural, exist concerning him ; and we shall state the impression he has made on us, and the opinion we have formed of his character.

On one point there is no controversy, no difference of opinion, no doubt nor hesitation ; all agree, all are at once convinced who have heard him speak, or have read one of his speeches, that he is surpassingly eloquent. It is not that he elicits vociferous cheers from well-fed gentlemen after dinner, and is greeted by waving of white handkerchiefs from crowded galleries of easily-excited and sympathising women,—scores of very common orators having a favourite theme to dilate on, have effected quite as much ;—it is not that the mob huzza vehemently as he pronounces some sentiment favourable to the rights of the poorest part of humanity, and feel themselves ready to follow him, if necessary, to battle, demagogues of no sterling character, have done the same in all ages ; it is not that he everywhere kindles the enthusiasm of every auditory. All this, indeed, he does ; but more than this, he converts opponents into friends ; he convinces the sceptical as well as warms the enthusiastic ; he assures the doubtful ; he satisfies

cold, fastidious critics, stirs the blood of reporters, men accustomed to listen calmly and uninfluenced to all kinds of oratory, and sends them and editors to record at their desks their thorough conviction that he is the most fascinating speaker they have ever heard. "Next week," says the Editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, after describing on Saturday, November 15th, some of the most effective passages of his speeches at Manchester and Birmingham, "may enable us to recover a cool and wise judgment after the too-inspiring appeals of the suffering patriot, whose voice yet rings in our ears like a trumpet with a silver sound." The writer of that is not a young man, but long accustomed to hear and take part in public speaking of all kinds,—a man well practised in the world; and yet he, a constant and cautious critic of other men's acts and words, is carried away by Kossuth's eloquence, and describes it as "most thrilling," as "Shaksperian," "of Miltonian sublimity," and as "combining more of moral and intellectual grandeur" than anything he ever knew. The wonderful eloquence which all concede to Kossuth, is the source of his power. When such are its effects—he speaking a strange tongue, and addressing strange men,—we may conjecture its effects when he uses his mother-tongue, and addresses hearts and minds with which he is almost as familiar as with his own. "I may perhaps be eloquent," he modestly said at Manchester; "it is so told—in my own language, and when I want to give inspiration to those who hear me; but here (he added gracefully) I have to get inspiration from you." He has caught it, as he said in the Hanover Square Rooms (with more boldness than is consistent with our taste), from the "Holy Ghost of freedom breathed upon me;" and we now know, and he is informed, that he is eloquent in a foreign language,—more extraordinarily eloquent, indeed, than any man that ever appeared in the world. Yet he may disappoint many persons. He has none of the tricks of oratory: his manner is calm and unimpassioned, grave and earnest; his action may be almost described as tame; his voice is not strong, and never violent; he uses neither sarcasms nor sneers; he neither mocks nor mimics; his mode of speaking is logical rather than poetical; and his influence

as an orator is wholly intellectual. It is due to noble sentiments tersely expressed; to the utterance of great truths, latent in all minds, which the spark of his eloquence kindles into flame; and to beautiful and apt illustrations of opinions that belong to all, but have never before been so clearly expressed. Thus, at Manchester, he said—

“There are some who endeavour to contract the demonstrations of sympathy which I have had the honour to meet, to the narrow circle of personality. They would fain make you believe, that there is nothing more in these demonstrations than a matter of fashion, a transitory ebullition of public feeling, passing away without leaving a trace like the momentary bubble; or, at the utmost, a tribute of popular approbation to the bravery of a gallant people in a just cause, and of consolation to their illmerited misfortunes. But I say, it is not so. I say, may no nation on earth have reason once to repent of having contemptuously disregarded these my words, only because it was but I who said them. I say, that the very source of these demonstrations is, the instinctive feeling of the people that the destiny of mankind has come to the turning point of centuries: it is the cry of alarm upon the ostensible approach of universal danger; it is the manifestation of the instinct of self-preservation, roused by the instinctive knowledge of the fact, that the decisive struggle of the destiny of Europe was near, and that no people, no country, can remain unaffected by the issue of this great struggle of principles. A great orator has told you that the despotic governments of Europe have become weak. So it is. The despotic governments of Europe feel their approaching death, and therefore they will come to the death-struggle. I am nothing, but the opportunity which elicited the hidden spark,—the opportunity at which the pre-existing instinctive appreciation of approaching danger caused in every nation the cry to burst forth,—the loud cry of horror. Or else, how could even the most daring sophist explain the fact of the universality of these demonstrations, not restricted to where I am present,—not restricted to any climate,—not restricted to the peculiar character of a people,—not restricted to a singular state organisation,—but spreading through the world like the pulsation of one heart,—like the spark of an electric battery. The addresses, full of the most generous sentiments, which I am honoured with in England, are the effects of my presence; but I am but the spark which kindles a feeling which has long existed, from the people of the metropolis down to the solitary hamlets, hidden by neighbouring mountains from the vicissitudes of public life.”

Then, after referring to the many tributes he had received from many places, he continued—

“Is this personal? What have I in my person, in my present, in my future, not to justify, but even to explain this universality of demonstration? Nothing, entirely nothing; only the knowledge that I am a friend of freedom, the friend of the people—so I am nothing but the opportunity for the manifestation of the instinctive feeling of so many nations, that the dragon of oppression draws near, and that the St. George of liberty is ready to wrestle with him. A philosopher was once questioned, how could he prove the existence of God? ‘Why,’ answered he, ‘by opening my eyes. God is seen everywhere; in the growth of the grass, and in the movements of the stars; in the warbling of the lark, and in the thunder of heaven.’ Even so I prove that the decisive struggle in mankind’s destiny draws near; I appeal to the sight of your eyes; I appeal to the pulsations of your hearts, and to the judgments of

INTRODUCTION.

your minds. You know, you see, you feel that the judgment is drawing near. How blind are those men who have the affectation to believe, or at least to assert, that it is only certain men who push to revolution the continent of Europe, which also, but for their revolutionary acts, would be quiet and contented! Contented! With what? With oppression and servitude? France contented, with its constitution turned into a pasquinade? Germany contented, with being turned into a fold of sheep, pent up to be shorn by some thirty petty tyrants? Switzerland contented, with the threatening ambition of encroaching despots? Italy contented, with the King of Naples, or with the priestly government of Rome, the worst of human inventions? Austria, Bohemia, Croatia, Dalmatia, contented with having been driven to butchery, and after having been deceived, with having been plundered, oppressed, and laughed at as fools? Poland contented with being murdered? Hungary, my poor Hungary, contented with being more than murdered—buried alive!—for it is alive! What I feel is but a weak pulsation of that feeling which pervades the breasts of the people of my country. Prussia contented with slavery? Vienna contented? Lombardy, Peath, Milan, Venice, Brescia, Ragusa, Prague contented? Contented with having been bombarded, burned, plundered, sacked, and their populations butchered! Half of the European continent contented—with the scaffold, with the hangman, with the prison, with having no political rights at all; but having to pay innumerable millions for the highly-beneficial purpose of being kept in a state of serfdom! That is the condition of the continent of Europe; and is it not ridiculous and absurd in men to prate about individuals disturbing the peace and tranquillity of Europe?

These are truths, which every man feels, most impressively stated. They come home to the judgment of all, and plainly show us that the secret of his great power is a vivid appreciation of the prevalent feelings of all men, and finding expression for them in their own language.

One or two other specimens of his great mastery over human feelings we will here present to our readers, to convince them that Kossuth is one of the greatest orators that has ever appeared in the world. Describing the conduct of the Hungarian Diet, wherein he laid before it the alternative of either surrendering their liberties or of arming against Austria, he said:—

“Reluctant to present the neck of the realm to the deadly stroke which aimed at its very life, and anxious to bear up against the horrors of fate, and manfully to fight the battle of legitimate defence, scarcely had I spoken the word—scarcely had I added that the defence would require 200,000 men, and 80,000,000 of florins, when the spirit of freedom moved through the hall, and nearly 400 representatives rose as one man, and, lifting their right arms towards God, solemnly said, ‘We grant it—freedom or death!’ [The solemnity of gesture and voice with which Kossuth uttered these words, says the reporter, produced a powerful effect on the assembly.] Thus they spoke, and there they stood in calm and silent majesty, awaiting what further word might fall from my lips. And for myself: it was my duty to speak, but the grandeur of the moment and the rushing waves of sentiment benumbed my tongue. A burning tear fell from my eyes, a sigh of adoration to the Almighty Lord fluttered on my lips; and, bowing low before the majesty of my people, as I bow now before you, gentlemen, I left the tribunal silently, speechless, mute. [Kossuth here paused for a few moments, overpowered by his emotion,—and for this remark, too, we are

indebted to the reporter,—with which the company deeply sympathised.] Pardon me my emotion—the shadows of our martyrs passed before my eyes; I heard the millions of my native land once more shouting ‘liberty or death!’”

Deeply sympathising with him, the whole company cheered responsive to his feelings, and every man, we believe, if he could be questioned, would have declared that never in his life, neither from the pulpit nor the judgment seat—neither from the bar nor from the hustings—neither in Parliament nor in any public assembly, had he heard such thrilling words as were uttered by Kossuth at Birmingham. We have heard him speak as well as read his speeches; we have listened also to most of the great orators of the last thirty years; and nothing which we ever heard or read—the most fervent from Dr. Chalmers, the most elaborate from Lord Brougham, the most neat and finished from Lord Lyndhurst, the most pointed and poetical from Canning; the most rounded and impressive from the late Lord Grey, the most terse from Cobden, the most sparkling from W. J. Fox—ever appeared so effectually impressive as the oratory of Kossuth. Let us call attention to another splendid passage, in which, for the first time almost in history, justice has been done to those who, looking out for no peerages, nor stars, nor garters, die fighting for liberty and their country :—

“Perhaps there might be some glory in inspiring such a nation, and to such a degree. But I cannot accept the praise. No; it is not I who inspired the Hungarian people—it was the Hungarian people who inspired me. Whatever I thought, and still think—whatever I felt, and still feel—is but a feeble pulsation of that heart which in the breast of my people beats. The glory of battles is ascribed to the leaders in history;—theirs are the laurels of immortality. And yet on meeting the danger they knew that, alive or dead, their name will upon the lips of the people for ever live. How different, how much purer, is the light spread on the image of thousands of the people’s sons, who, knowing that where they fall they will lay unknown, their names unhonoured and unsung, but who, nevertheless, animated by the love of freedom and fatherland, went on calmly, singing national anthems, against the batteries, whose cross-fire vomited death and destruction on them, and took them without firing a shot—they who fell, falling with the shout, ‘Hurrah for Hungary!’ And so they died by thousands, THE UNNAMED DEMIGODS! Such is the people of Hungary.”

He afterwards continued with great—perhaps even greater sublimity,—

“With us, those who beheld the nameless victims of the love of country, lying on the death-field beneath Buda’s walls, met but the impression of a smile on the frozen

lips of the dead, and the dying answered those who would console but by the words, 'Never mind, Buda is ours. Hurrah for the fatherland!' So they spoke and died. He who witnessed such scenes, not as exception, but as a constant rule, of thousands of the people's nameless sorbs; he who saw the adolescent weep when told he was yet too young to die for his land; he who saw the sacrifices of spontaneity; he who heard what a fury spread over the people on hearing of the catastrophe; he who marked his behaviour towards the victors after all was lost; he who knows what sort of curse is mixed in the prayers of the Magyar, and knows what sort of sentiment is burning alike in the breast of the old and of the child, of the strong man and of the tender wife, and ever will be burning on, till the hour of national resurrection strikes; he who is aware of all this, will surely bow before this people with respect, and will acknowledge, with me, that such a people wants not to be inspired, but that it is an everlasting source of inspiration itself."

In no speech or writings, ancient or modern, are finer passages to be found: and when we reflect that these were spoken by a stranger to our language, our admiration is mingled with astonishment, and we pronounce the man to be one of the great marvels of intellectual power—one of the heroes who, at distant intervals, appear in the world, and give their names to its most conspicuous epochs.

We shall, in this introduction, say nothing further of the wonderful eloquence which all concur in ascribing to him, but advert to those moral qualities which constitute his character, and of which his eloquence is but the sign and the manifestation.

Pre-eminent in Kossuth's mind, and it is shown in his whole history, long before there was any question of quarrel with Austria, or of revolution and separation, or of anything but a constitutional reform, which has been agitated by the Hungarians for the last thirty years,—pre-eminent in Kossuth's mind is his love of Hungary, and his desire for its freedom and independence. He said of himself at Birmingham, speaking what we know to be true, and expressing in one passage, in which he contrasted the stubbornness of past ages with the exigencies of modern times, the whole history of the present political agitation of Europe—

"I was yet young, sir, under rigorous circumstances, almost anti-didactically, preparing my soul for the duty, which is a common one to us all—to be useful as far as possible to fatherland and to humanity. The great things that have since occurred I could not then anticipate. I could not anticipate that it was I who would have by my sufferings to break way to the freedom of thought in my native land—that it was I who, by applying to several special objects of association which has produced so many wonders in this glorious country—should have unprecedented influence on my nation's life, capable of leading from the indifference of despondency to the cheerful-

ness of activity, and by activity to self-confidence; that the liberation of my people from those hereditary burthens that have weighed them down for 500 years; that the political emancipations which transformed the close hall of privileges into an open temple of common liberty; that the sanction of the great principle of equality in duties and rights, should ever be associated with the recollection of my humble name, or that it should be my lot to reconcile the stubbornness of past ages with present necessities and the exigencies of modern times.

The intense of love of country and of liberty took captive the affections of his countrymen. "That is the key," he said at Birmingham, "of the faith and truth my people have in me, their plain unpretending brother,—a faith neither troubled by a deluge of calumnies nor broke by adversity. It is that my people take me still for the incarnation of their wishes, their affections, and their hopes." The same love of freedom and fatherland now recommends him to the admirers of freedom of all description throughout Europe, who are contending under various names, but all under the impulse of "present necessities and the exigencies of modern times" against the "stubbornness of past ages," still embodied in the ancient barbarity of despotism.

He is actually, as he has described himself, the incarnation of a great principle—and in him all things are subservient to that. It is the master passion of his soul. It is not surprising, therefore, to those who are aware that any strong emotion converts all passing events and circumstances to its own aliment, that Kossuth should have addressed in their own language many of the political sects and classes, who under different names are battling in that twilight which in all branches of knowledge—politics as well as geology—precedes the full day of science, "for the exigencies of modern times" against the "stubbornness of past ages." It is common to all men of genius to have very vivid as well as clear conceptions, every one of which, while it lasts, is overpoweringly convincing. Within the sphere of their attributes and to serve the great end for which they are endowed with genius, "they are all things to all men." Hence Kossuth in pleading his noble cause, with men animated by the same desire as himself, though they take different and adverse means to conquer "the stubbornness of past ages," appears to some persons perhaps of superficial minds—to be inconsistent; but he is

undeviatingly constant—the needle is not more constant—to the great animating passion of his soul. Accordingly whatever may be the apparently verbal inconsistencies detected in his different speeches by socialists when he is speaking to the middle classes of England, and by the middle classes of England when he is communicating with socialists, (both like him struggling to reconcile the stubbornness of the past with the exigencies of the present,) there are certain great points to which he remains invariably true.

He is a very earnest man, and his spirit is essentially religious. In every discourse a lively sense of his and of all men's dependence on Providence is always apparent. It is nothing simulated for gain, it is plainly in his heart. The foundation of all his hopes is a fervent faith. Some of his expressions, as when he spoke of the "inspiration of the Holy Ghost of freedom" may possibly be offensive to some minds, but all his speeches display a constant reliance on the Power which rules the thoughts and heart of man—and he contends for freedom as a duty, because "God has not created this fair world to be a prison to humanity. Peace can only be founded upon the contentment of nations; and that contentment is a fruit which in no other garden than liberty grows."

He fights against despotism, as he has repeated over and over again, because it is immoral; because it invades life and destroys property; because, as he shows by the different rate of mortality in free England and despotic Russia, it kills more human beings than any war, and has sacrificed in a year more lives than have fallen in five centuries in battling for freedom. As a religious man, he feels deeply the obligations of morality, and his policy is founded on its principles, in opposition to the tortuous and dark diplomacy of despotism. His love of fatherland and humanity alike dictate a hatred of the Czar; of the Emperor of Austria; and he never swerves from honestly and openly expressing that hatred. At the same time, his one great object precludes him from making himself exclusively a partisan of any of the political sects and political faiths that are found in Europe. He boldly avows himself, as far as Hungary is concerned, a republican. "Here I take

the opportunity," he said at Manchester, "of declaring that it is true I, for my own country, I for myself, have republican convictions. I have a conviction that, in Hungary, after what has happened, though it has been the most monarchical country a thousand years in Europe, it would be impossible, because the treachery of the house of Hapsburg has driven out every faith of the people in the principle, to restore its allegiance to monarchy. But never it came to my mind to have the pretension that I will go on all through the world to preach government forms. I consider," he added, "the forms of government may be different, according to circumstances. There is freedom in England under a monarchy, and freedom in the United States under a republic; but I never gave myself out as a knight-errant against whatever form of government exists." He is convinced of the necessity of a republic for Hungary, and he knows his own country better than we know it; but, like a true apostle of genuine freedom, he finds it in men's own will, and admits its possible existence in France, and its actual existence in America, under a republic, while he honours, praises, and almost worships the freedom and its consequences he has beheld in monarchical England. As a religious man, and a moral man, he cannot be the patron of anarchy or disorders of any kind, but he recognises, consistently with the history of mankind, the possibility of freedom of order and of property existing under various forms of government. Most beautifully and logically did he show the immorality under some circumstances of peace, and justify war by the very highest principles of religion:—

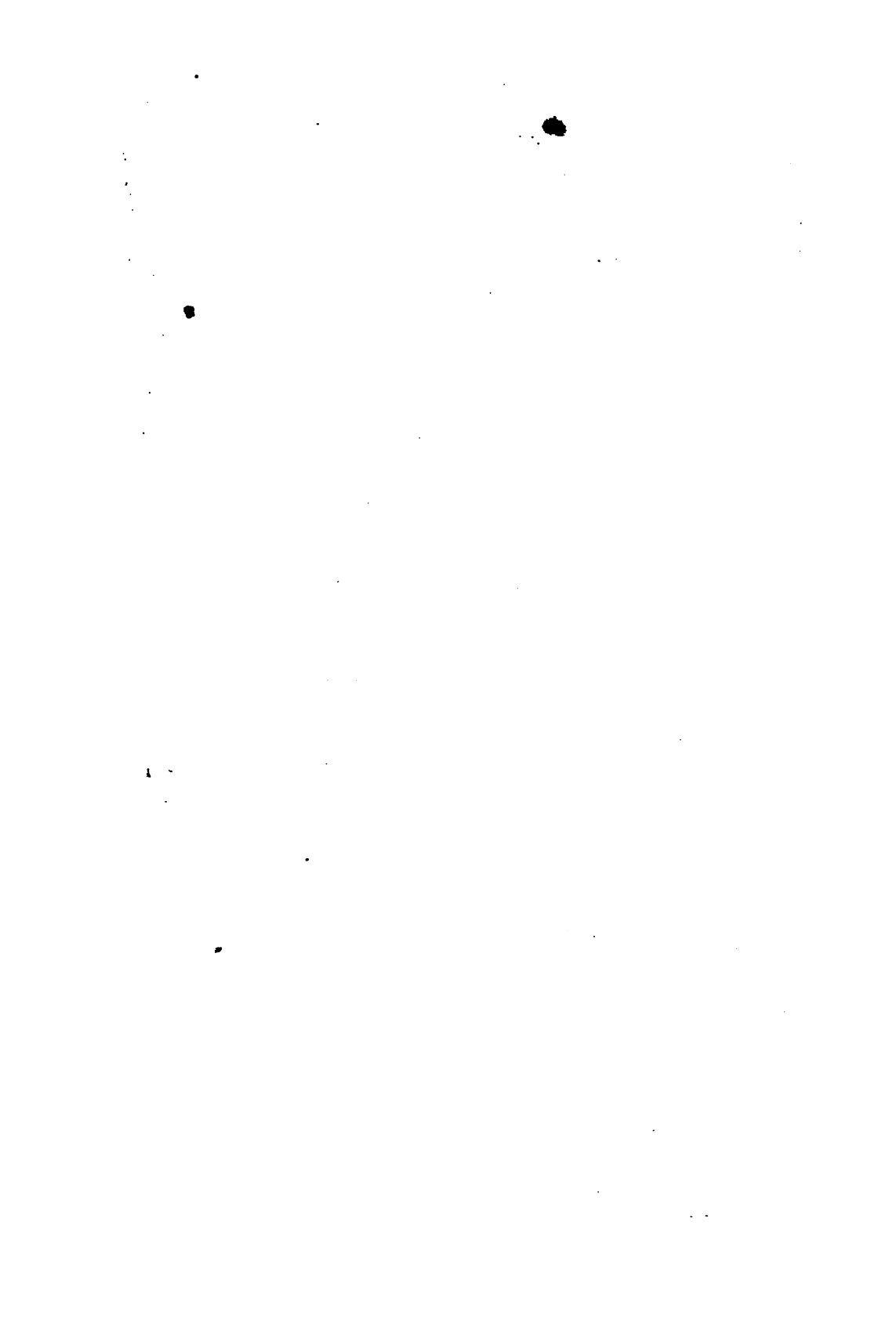
"Let us take into consideration, first, in a private respect, the word peace: for instance, a man is kicked out of his house; what shall he do with regard to the principles of the Peace Association? He must try to convince by reason his assailant, of course, but unhappily he answers by blows. Must he recur to the protection of the law?—that is of course. Well, but where there is no law, where the assailant is above the law, what is to be done? Surrender his property? I believe that would be so much as to surrender the principle of security of property, upon which, as upon a pillar of two of the social order, reposes, whilst it would be opposed to the instinct of self-preservation which God has given to the least worm itself. Attacked on the high road by a murderer, will he offer his robe to the assailant? Or if he cannot otherwise defend himself and preserve his life, will he not slay him? No man, whatever society he may belong to, will give his robe to a murderer, in order to keep peace with his assailant. So I consider it always, and so it must be considered, that word of peace, which is taken up to agitate and to carry, by that glorious association;—that the principle of legislative indifference of non-resistance is a

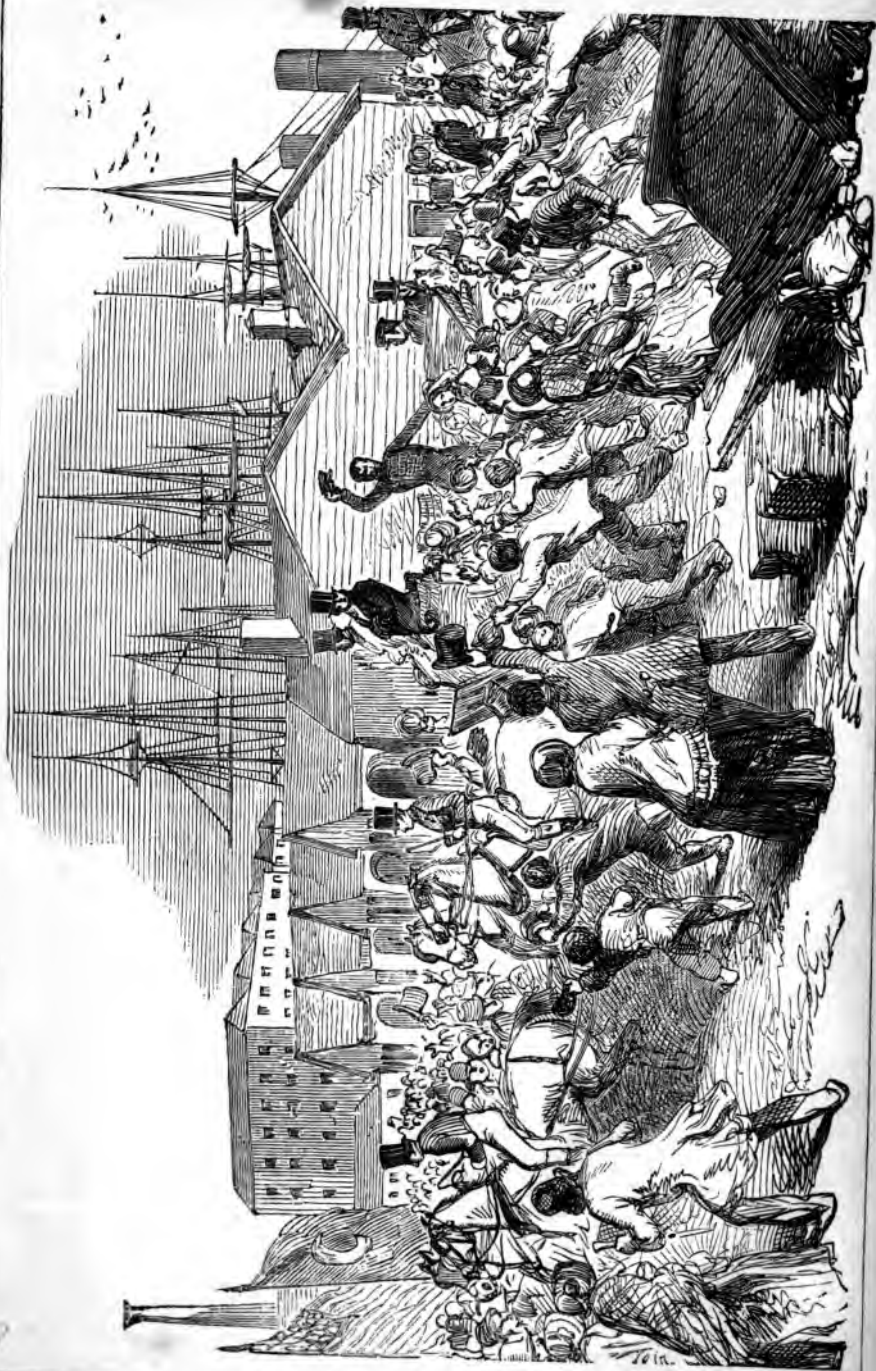
different word from that of peace. That is precisely the case in Europe now. Nations are murdered, nations are oppressed by brutal violence, and the despots will not give up; at least they will try to the last. Now, what shall do the oppressed nations? Shall they rely upon the principle of pacification? Shall they rely that they themselves will abandon their power? Never: despots abandon never power. Shall they look to history? Where is a single free country which was not forced to win those institutions—which secure the universal progress and development of liberty? Suppose you had not had your revolution of 1665, England were in the same condition as Hungary now. Therefore I confidently know that it is not possible for the glorious Association of Peace to have the intention to condemn the nations of Europe to that state, to wait for artificial buildings of despotism to fall by themselves, because never in history they fell by themselves, but only when the people helped them to fall. I affirm, that it is on liberty and justice alone that peace can be permanently based. As to the principle of the Peace Society, as a Christian principle, none can share more heartily than myself in sympathy for it. What is the Christian religion? Do I not read the angelic words, 'Glory to God in the highest; peace on earth and goodwill to men?' But peace to tyrants?—that is oppression. Peace to murderers?—that would be the suicide of society, and that is not Christian. The second great Christian principle is, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, and do unto others as thou wish others to do to thee.' Now, if anybody sees a murderer come and pull his neighbour's house down, would it not be required by that principle that he should go and help him? Therefore, if so, I ask every member, to whatever part of the Peace Society he belongs, to remember that great rule, given by our Saviour to humanity. The Saviour has said, 'Thou shalt do to thy neighbour as thou would do to thyself.' I find, too, that it is a Christian duty to give to the emperor what belongs to him, but it is not taught by the Christian religion to give him what does not belong to him—the freedom of mankind is not the property of an emperor or a king. The second principle of this glorious association is that of non-interference in foreign matters. That is precisely what I ask for. My friends, I am not come to entreat England to take up arms for the restoration of Hungary. I only entreat England will go on, respecting, and making respected, the sovereign right of every nation to dispose of its own domestic affairs."

On such evidence, we affirm M. Kossuth's speeches to be fervently religious, and to inculcate the most noble principles. They are based on a respect for those sacred laws which hold society together, and which are far superior to all the laws man enacts. His arguments are all in favour of the inviolability of life, of the protection of property, of national independence, of the necessity of order, and of the prosperity and happiness of freedom; and he has nothing in common with those who would disturb property, take away life, and throw society into anarchy in pursuit of a political theory dignified by a holy name. The sure ground of his resistance to the Austrians was special, continued, and flagrant wrong done to Hungary. That the circumstances of the times turned the constitutional resistance into an attempt at complete revolution and the deposition of the old tyranny, is not to be

reckoned to him as blame, unless he was the cause of the French Revolution, which excited commotion in all the ill-governed countries of Europe. Nor can he be censured for the failure at present, unless it be supposed that he is endowed with power to control events ; and that, having meant well, and struggled nobly, he is to be judged by a different standard from all the other statesmen and heroes who have ever appeared in the world.







M. KOSSUTH LEAVING THE DOCKS AT SOUTHAMPTON.

LIFE OF KOSSUTH.

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LOUIS KOSSUTH, Governor of Hungary, only son of Andreas Kossuth, by his wife, Caroline Weber, was born on the 27th of April, 1802, at Monok, in the county of Zemplin; and at an early age he was sent to the Calvinist College of Patak. In 1819 he commenced the ordinary course of study for the bar, and attended the district court of Eperies and the Royal court at Pesth; where having completed his legal education, he returned to Monok in 1822, and was appointed honorary attorney to the county. He was fond of field sports, and at this time gave far more of his time to them than to law; but still he made himself known as a friend of the free institutions of Hungary, and an opponent of Austrian corruption and encroachment.

In 1831 the cholera broke out in Hungary: the disease was new—its ravages terrible: the idea seized upon the Slovak peasants that the upper classes had poisoned the wells, and they rose and murdered the clergy, jews, and landlords. The whole people were terror-stricken; the spirit of destruction and fear seemed almost to be another form of the pestilence. It was then that Kossuth first felt his power to influence the people, and became known as a speaker. Wherever the pestilence was most deadly and the fear greatest he urged measures of relief, addressed the people, and by his plain and earnest eloquence dispelled their delusions, and calmed the excitement. Thus distinguished, he was named by several peeresses to attend the Diet of 1832 as their proxy. The nomination gave the right to speak but not to vote, and he spoke but once in the Diet; but his attention was given to a far more important object than making speeches. As proxy it was his duty to furnish his principals from time to time with reports of the proceedings: such notes were usually ill-done and brief; Kossuth resolved that his should, at all events, have some completeness. He gave a summary of every important speech, an abstract of every public document, and added leading articles and comments of his own. The proceedings of the Diet

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had hitherto been known only by a miserable official committee report, irregularly published, and onesided and lifeless. Kossuth's papers were therefore passed from hand to hand, their reputation spread, they were sought even by members of the Diet: he received subscribers, and in 1834, they amounted to eighty; when to diminish the cost and extend the circulation and usefulness of the paper, he set up a lithographic press, the funds for which were provided by a subscription amongst the liberals, and the paper was published under the title of the Parliamentary Gazette. Against this move the Austrian Government took measures, and issued an injunction prohibiting the publication by lithography. The great question then before the Diet was the abolition of serfdom: from this a diversion was the thing of all others desired by Austria. It was felt that a discussion on the liberty of the press would distract attention from the more vital question, and Kossuth, therefore, following the advice of the friends with whom he acted, gave up lithographing, and resumed the manuscript. Copying clerks were employed, the price of the paper was raised, but the interdict had so stirred the spirit of the people, that the circulation was doubled, the primitive little newspaper was read at the club of every one of the fifty-two Hungarian counties, and served to awaken an interest in practical measures, and an opposition to the systematic aggression of Austria.

The sittings of the Diet ended in 1836. It had shown too much the spirit of reform to please the Court at Vienna; and, to stay the progress of its measures, the old hackneyed story of a conspiracy was trumped up, and several young men of note were arrested. Their trials nearly resembled those at Naples recently so well exposed by Mr. Gladstone; Kossuth urged the unconstitutionality of the proceedings, but in vain: the influence of the men was dangerous to Austrian encroachment, and they were found guilty and imprisoned.

Kossuth diligently continued his paper. The county meetings—the same as the old English shiremotes—were then of great importance; they discussed every project of reform, and resolved upon the course the representatives of the counties should adopt in the Diet; they were, in short, local Parliaments in preparation for the Diet or great Parliament. Hitherto, however, the Imperial Lieutenants had prevented the publication of reports of the county proceedings, and so the several counties had been kept isolated. The news-letter reported the proceedings, and the counties understood each other, and became united. Interdicts of the reports were issued from Vienna, but the magistracy of Pesth were with Kossuth, and, despite of all threats, he continued to publish. The paper, thus though then but in manuscript, became a new power—the people felt it, the Imperial Court took fright, and ordered the arrest of Kossuth. Count Raviczky, Chancellor of the Kingdom, refused to sign the warrant, was *dismissed*, and Count Palfy appointed, who understanding the

condition, gave the signature; a company of grenadiers was sent to seize Kossuth, and as an Austrian triumph, he was carried off to the new prison of Pesth, and there in solitary confinement, without books, without writing materials, without even a form of trial, was left an entire year. But the wrong did not pass in silence. Meetings were held in every county—memorials, deputations, and remonstrances, poured in; in all Hungary Kossuth was the man most thought of, most spoken of. Strangers who, from any part of the kingdom, came to Pesth, made their first visit to the sisters of Kossuth, to express their admiration of the man, and their sympathy with his family. The excitement did not procure his liberation, but it had its effect on the trial. There can be no doubt the first intention was, that Kossuth should be condemned to wear his life out in one of those imprisonments that have stamped the name of Austria with perpetual infamy, but he was sentenced instead, from dread of popular outbreak, to four years confinement, and was sent to the fortress of Buda. The year of solitary imprisonment had sorely worn him down, but he was now allowed books, and he set to work manfully to improve the time by the study of English from Johnson's Dictionary and Shakspeare.

For the success of Austrian tyranny there had, however, been too much written, too much spoken in the counties: the excitement out of doors became great, the imprisonment influenced the elections, a majority of liberals were returned. The Diet again met in 1839, and opened its proceedings by declaring the prosecution illegal. The supplies were refused, and for a long time withheld, and the immediate liberation of Kossuth, and a complete amnesty for all political offenders insisted upon prior to any grant. Austria saw fit to yield, the supplies were voted May 14th, 1840, and next day the prisoners were liberated.

Three years had passed over Kossuth, when on that May day he came forth from the fortress, pale, worn, broken, in all but hope for Hungary. An immense concourse of people assembled to welcome his liberation; he was escorted through the town that night by a procession with some thousand torch-bearers—the mode in Hungary of giving a triumph with the highest honour. And referring some time after to this period in conversation, he spoke of it as “the loss of three years of his existence, the making of all *his future life*.”

In the hope of gaining some breathing time for a deeper move in their perpetual game of intrigue, the Imperial Government went so far as to grant a license for a newspaper, to be managed by Kossuth—and after a brief period of rest he returned with renewed energy, and with all the fervour of a keen sense of wrong to the press. The Ministry and a majority of the Diet were liberal, and on New Year's Day, 1841, with Kossuth as editor, appeared the first number of the *Pesti Hirlap* (“Pesth Journal”).

At this period Kossuth married Teresa Meszlenyi. With her

mother she was one of those who, coming to Pesth during his imprisonment, had paid the usual complimentary visit. She had never seen Kossuth, but had known him by his speeches; his sisters were interested in her. She became one of their most intimate friends, and was with them to welcome him on the day of his return from prison, and on the 10th of January, 1841, they were married. And though her constant wish was but for the peaceful happiness of home, still, as the current of events drove on, she bore herself in every trial bravely—and rose ever in endurance with the need of the hour—until it becomes difficult to say which most fixes the attention,—his greatness, or her heroism.

At first the *Hirlap* was published four times a week, but soon it became a daily paper. Its circulation rose rapidly to five, six, eight, and ten thousand; and at one period reached even to twelve thousand. Its influence was immense. Opinion throughout Hungary was fast gathering to the full strength of union. But Austria was not idle; and, in 1844, the Imperial power succeeded in changing the Ministry.

The Liberals of 1838 were displaced by Imperialists, and the editorship of the *Hirlap* was taken from Kossuth.

In 1845, he came forward as a candidate for the Diet, and was defeated by Austrian influence and corruption. But an event in the Diet of 1833, had convinced him that the people might be raised from their electoral debasement. Baloz, a leader amongst the Liberal party was impeached by the Imperial commissioners. The parliamentary custom of Hungary required that, so accused, he should resign his seat and come forward for re-election. Austria put forth all her strength against him. Promises were bought with five-florin notes: the electors took the bribe, but only to disgrace the givers, for on the day of election they marched to the poll, and every man as he passed flung down the note before the Imperial commissioners and passed on to vote for Baloz. Here was proof of the existence of a true appreciation of right amongst the people; to this Kossuth resolved to appeal, and to secure reform by reform of the elections. He therefore returned once more to the counties, and set himself to purify their local parliaments, and to extend the common interest in good government by enfranchisement of the serfs. At the same time he called attention to the necessity that for the commercial advancement of Hungary, her trade should be emancipated from the prohibition to import only Austrian manufactures, and export no manufactured goods of Hungary to Austria, and for this purpose he formed the *vedegylet*, an association pledged to consume no Austrian goods until the tariff were reformed.

The effect of this league was soon felt. Austrian manufacturers, to preserve their trade, had to transplant their factories to Hungary. To repress this new-born spirit, the Court at Vienna fell upon the device of appointing Imperial commissioners at the head of the counties, in the place of the Lords Lieutenant, who were the old

constitutional heads. This step increased the agitation. The reform leaders from every quarter of the kingdom met at Pesth, and during the quarterly fairs of 1846 and 1847, to which the people came from all parts, the needful measures of reform were publicly discussed, one by one, and in every detail determined. At the head of this movement, as chairman of the meetings, was the late Count Louis Batthyani. Kossuth made able speeches, and rose in popularity; he was as practical as he was eloquent. Batthyani recognised his importance, exerted himself to the utmost to secure his election to the Diet for the county of Pesth, and was successful. The Diet met in November, 1847. Previously, the project of reform of the Liberals had been published; and, immediately the session opened, the law abolishing the feudal service of the tenants and the immunity of the nobles from taxation, passed the Lower House.

Kossuth, as representative of the county of Pesth, became, by force of oratory, the most popular man of the Diet, and, in the commencement of 1848, made his great speech on the liberties of Hungary. He argued that, as the government was constituted, progress was impossible. Hungary was ruled by a monarch who served two parts of his dominions in different capacities: at Vienna he was emperor, and absolute; at Presburg, a king, and limited by the constitution. The result must be constant encroachment and distrust. It was not possible at the same time to be an imperial tyrant and the ruler of a free people. Formerly every state of the Austrian dominions had a constitution. The three hundred years' rule of the house of Hapsburg* and the thirty years' war had wrested their constitutions from all but Hungary; now either the constitution must be restored to all, or Hungary must follow the other states into slavery. The sole safeguard, therefore, of Hungarian liberty was in the restoration of their ancient liberties to every state of the Austrian empire.

In the Diet the speech was heard with profound wonder and respect; out of doors its idea of security to Hungary by the enfranchisement of the whole Austrian people was caught up with enthusiasm. The popularity of Kossuth increased. It was felt that the proposal originating in the Diet could be truly put as that of the whole Hungarian people. Never was eloquence followed more quickly by practical results. It was determined that a project for the restoration of the constitutions should be prepared and carried by deputation to the Emperor. The report of the speech and account of the proceedings, reached Vienna on the same day with the news of the revolution in Paris and the flight of Louis Philippe. Forthwith the people were in commotion, and the storm of excitement rose, until, on the 18th of

* Hungary came under the rule of the House of Hapsburg by choice of Ferdinand of Austria to be King of Hungary, and he took oath to the constitution, and was crowned November 3, 1527.

March, it burst into revolution; the soldiers refused to fire on the populace, the Court was terror-stricken, Metternich fled, and the Hungarian deputation, with Kossuth at its head, arrived at Vienna.

The Emperor, who at once received them, was complacence itself, accepted the project of the constitution, and at the same time entreated Kossuth to restore the peace of the city, "which he alone could do, and, doing which, he would prove himself the best friend of the Hapsburg dynasty." Kossuth consented, and, with the theme of re-raising to its former glory the Austrian empire by restoration of the ancient rights of self-government, he gave direction to the disturbed ferment of ideas amongst the people, fixed their thoughts upon law and order, renewed their faith in the Emperor, and made peace.

Just a month after these events, the Emperor, accompanied by his whole family, came in state to Presburg, to swear to the constitution, give his sanction to the reformed laws, and affirm the Cabinet of Count Batthyani. In this Ministry Kossuth was, on the 11th of April, appointed Minister of Finance, and Francis Pulszki, Under Secretary of State, in the same department. The Diet had resolved that in future the nobility, or freeholders, in common with the rest of the people, should pay the taxes from which they had hitherto been exempt; and these appointments were made, avowedly, because no less popular men could dare to carry the measure, but at bottom with the secret hope that Austria should be able to stir up such opposition to this equality of taxation that the popularity of the Liberal ministers would be lost in the attempt, and the men become so hated, that in all probability the bullet of some assassin, or the waters of the Danube, might close their career.

Whilst the Hungarian Ministry were trustfully engaged in laborious preparation of the several reform measures to be brought before the Diet, the attention of the Court of Vienna was absorbed in intrigues—their prime mover the Archduchess Sophia, sister of the Queens of Prussia and Saxony, and of the King of Bavaria, and mother of the present Emperor, a woman of boundless ambition, and who, from her ability and resolution, has earned the name of being the only man in the family of Hapsburg. Her object was not only the maintenance of Imperialism as it stood, but its extension over the whole of Hungary—her means, the awaking of the race-hatred between the Croats, Servians, and Wallachs—her man for the work, Jellachich. Her scheme was unfolded to him within a day or two of the Emperor's solemn oath to the constitution. He at first refused to enter upon it, for the simple reason that it would be unconstitutional, or, in plainer words, an Imperial treason. The Archduchess burst into tears, caught him in her arms, kissed him, declared that on him every hope of the house of Hapsburg rested, that without him they were irrecoverably lost. He gave way, became a traitor, and *declared that he would obey her instructions, though they should*

lead him to the scaffold. He was therefore named Ban of Croatia, and went forth to create, as the last prop of Imperialism, civil war amongst a people then one in their enthusiasm for reform of the constitution and the laws. Nor was he long in showing fruits of his service. On the 14th of May the Servians declared war against the Hungarians, and rose, and, without quarter, put to death all the Hungarians they could find. Troops were sent against them, but, notwithstanding the most positive instructions of the Minister of War, they continually acted, under secret instructions from the Court at Vienna, solely on the defensive, and that gave the Servians opportunity to gather strength. The Croats at the same time refused to acknowledge the Hungarian Ministry or the laws of the Diet, although their own representatives had helped to pass them. The open instructions sent to Jellachich, although several were autograph letters of the Emperor himself, to obey the Hungarian Ministry, were perseveringly disregarded: he began to assemble an army on the frontier, and was proclaimed, on the 10th of June, a traitor by the Emperor. But the Hungarian Diet, unwilling to declare war against the Croats, proposed that the Archduke John should be appointed mediator. His mission failed. Jellachich, in his own paper, boasted that he had authority for all his acts, and that in everything contrary to them the Emperor acted by compulsion.

On the 1st of September the Croatian army crossed the frontier. Still the Diet of Hungary were resolved, if it were possible, to avert war; and a deputation, consisting of several members of the Ministry, the House of Peers and Commons—in all, sixty persons—was sent to Vienna, and had an audience, for the purpose of explanation, on the 9th of September, with the Emperor, at the palace at Schönbrun. His answer was evasive; and whilst the deputies were still in his presence, there was found in the ante-room the official paper declaring that the Emperor approved of every act of Jellachich. The deputation departed in silence; every man placed the red war feather in his hat, and with all speed returned to Presburg.

There was little room left for doubt as to the future; but the Diet, as one further effort for peace, resolved to send a deputation to the Austrian Diet at Vienna. It arrived on the 10th of September, was refused admittance, and the Hungarian Ministry therefore at once resigned.

On the 13th, the Minister of the Interior occupied alone the ministerial place in the Hungarian Diet. Kossuth was called upon for the time to resume his position: he obeyed, and, taking again his official seat, was welcomed with enthusiasm. The Diet authorised him to carry into effect his financial plan, and to create a Government debt by the issue of paper money. The hostile Croats were at no great distance; volunteers flocked in for the defence of the town and Diet; but still another attempt was made to avert the war.

Both by law and autograph letters of the Emperor, the Archduke Stephen stood at the head of the Government. The party, still clinging to the hope of peace, urged him to direct the formation of a new Cabinet, and by his instruction the office was undertaken by Louis Batthyani. Jellachich, meanwhile, was slowly advancing upon Pesth. He issued orders to all the Hungarian cavalry regiments to join his force, and to offer no opposition to the Croats. With the exception of a single regiment of cuirassiers, the Hungarian officers refused obedience to the general, and followed the instructions of the Ministry. They sent, however, a deputation of officers to Jellachich, with the request that they might be shown the Imperial order for the invasion of Hungary. Jellachich admitted that he had no such order; but declared that he was acting under a direct understanding with the Emperor. On the receipt of this intelligence, Batthyani at once demanded that the Archduke, who, as Palatine, was constitutionally captain-general of the kingdom, should take command of the army. The Duke obeyed, and, as a last effort for peace, sought an interview with Jellachich, on a steamer on the Lake Balaton. On one side were gathered the Hungarian, on the other the Croatian forces. It was arranged that each general should come with three attendants. Jellachich did not appear, and offered as his reason that the Archduke had raised the Hungarian instead of the Austrian colours, which were those of his family. Finding thus no chance of adjustment, the Duke, on the 24th, set off for Vienna.

On the 26th Count Lamberg, arrived bearing the appointment of Commander-in-chief of both Hungarian and Croatian armies, and the orders to dissolve the Diet and take possession of the fortress of Buda. The appointment and orders were not countersigned by any Minister, and were, therefore, illegal and not acknowledged: the Diet declared him a traitor, and he was warned by Francis Pulszki not to show himself at Pesth. He, however, came, and on the 9th, as he was crossing the bridge of boats, on his way to summon the fortress of Buda, he was recognised, dragged from his carriage, and murdered.

Thus every effort to preserve peace had failed, and the Hungarian Government were compelled to fight for the constitution (to which the Emperor had sworn) against a general whom the Emperor himself had declared a traitor. When the Archduke fled, the leading men of the Ministry were thrown into dismay; Count Szchenyi went mad. But with the imminence of the fate of Hungarian liberty the spirit of Kossuth rose; the perils of the moment awakened at once his strength and eloquence, and reliance upon the people. He issued a proclamation recapitulating the entire course of events, prophesying the overthrow of the Croatian army, and calling upon all to arm.

Nor did he rest on this; he went down to the plain dwelling upon the broken faith of the Emperor of Hungary, and there

preached the war for the constitution, as a holy war, against Imperial perjury and treason. Never before had speech been heard more inspiring; it seemed as though he were a prophet of triumph. The enthusiasm spread; the people flocked by thousands to the Hungarian standard; volunteers set out even from Vienna, and were not prevented; the entire people of Pesth swarmed to the camp; mere lads came, and old men of sixty came—came with knives, scythes, hatchets; for ten days they gathered to the battle-field. No one knew their numbers—they were undrilled, unofficered, untaught in war. A force so ill-equipped scarce ever stood in the face of an enemy; but they were earnest, fearless, and, inspired by the eloquence of Kossuth, were impatient for battle. There was no time to mend their condition; the Croats, 40,000 strong, and in every thing well appointed, were in view. The Hungarians had some cannon, manned by lawyers and engineers of Pesth who had practised under the Bohemian artillerymen; but to this part of the force the victory was not to belong. They had some regiments of regular troops, but they were a mere handful in comparison with the opposing force.

The news that Batthyani had left the country, and that General Lamberg had been murdered, was soon known to both armies. Lamberg had been a favourite with the Hungarian soldiers, Batthyani with the people; and relying on the depressing effect of the news on the disciplined portion of the forces, Jellachich, on the morning of the 29th, gave orders for an attack. A cannonade, with little effect, lasted for some hours. Charge on charge Jellachich's cuirassiers came upon the Hungarian infantry, and were repulsed. The battle had lasted until evening, when there was a rush forward of the crowd; the rough, self-devoted multitude tried their strength against the disciplined force; the Croats broke and were scattered in confusion. Jellachich forthwith sent a flag of truce, asking for a three days' armistice—it was granted; and the same night he broke up his camp and fled. Of his force, 5000 were beaten on the 3rd by the National Guards of the south-western counties; and on the 5th the raw levies which Kossuth had gathered overtook and captured 12,000 men, with twelve pieces of cannon and two general officers. Such was the battle of Pakord, and so ended Jellachich's dream of an unfought-for victory to treason. Intelligence from the field was slow to reach Vienna; Jellachich himself sent no despatch, and contrived to stop all others.

The news of his defeat arrived about the 4th of October. On the 3rd he had been appointed civil and military governor of Hungary, with absolute power to dissolve the Diet. A portion of the garrison of Vienna was ordered to march to Pesth; they refused; troops were sent to compel them; the populace took side with the garrison; on the 8th there was a battle in the streets; the people and refusing force were victorious; the Minister of War

was hanged by the people; and on the night of the 7th the Emperor left Vienna. The Hungarians offered their help to the city, but Kossuth refused to march unless invited by the proper authorities, who had not the courage to give the invitation, though alone they had not strength to resist. Vienna was besieged and taken by the Austrians; the Hungarian army retired; the Austrians made preparations to advance into Hungary. On the 15th of November there was so intense a frost that the Danube and all the streams and swamps were frozen, and the way thus made sure for the invading force. Görgey, whom Kossuth had named commander-in-chief, offered but small resistance, and they came to the gates of Pesth on the 5th of January, 1849.

Kossuth then advised to retire into the centre of Hungary and organise the army; others advised an effort to make terms with Austria. In accordance with this advice Count Louis Batthyani was sent with a flag of truce:—he was seized, imprisoned, and seven months afterwards shot. Meanwhile Kossuth went to Debreczin, and again his eloquence won volunteers by thousands, so that it was said “wherever he stamped his foot there sprung up a soldier.” But not only had he to find men. There were no arms, but he knew no impossibility: he established foundries and forges. There was no powder, no sulphur in the kingdom: he taught them to make it from the black-jack of the copper mines, and set powder-mills to work. Battalion after battalion was drilled, and in these preparations the time was spent until the middle of March. Meanwhile several battles were fought, some of which were defeats, some doubtful for the Hungarians; and Transylvania fell entirely into the hands of the Austrians. But there was no discouragement felt amongst the troops. Kossuth inspired them with faith in future triumphs—he appointed Klapka to the command of the northern force, Bem to that of Transylvania; and on the 24th of March the newly formed Hungarian army began to act upon the offensive. For the first and most important part of the campaign Kossuth was with them, and in ten great battles the Austrians were defeated and driven to the very frontiers of Hungary, and Pesth was regained. In the April he returned to Debreczin, and on the 14th proposed in the Protestant Church the deposition from the throne of Hungary of the house of Hapsburg. The proposition was carried both by the Commons and Peers, the independence of Hungary proclaimed, and Kossuth declared Governor.

The promises of Kossuth were fulfilled. Every enemy so far in the field had been beaten, and it seemed impossible that Austria could regain the ground, or refuse to acknowledge the independence of the kingdom. There were no resources for a continuance of the war, and a loan to the Austrian empire, which had never kept pecuniary faith, and now seemed to be fast breaking up, was *laughed at throughout Europe*. Kossuth now felt that it would

be easy for any friendly power to accomplish a peace, and he applied to England for her good offices. There were other grounds of encouragement for Hungary. In the April of 1849, just about the time that Hungarian independence was proclaimed, and when everywhere there was sympathy with the brave Hungarians, Lord Palmerston made his famous speech, in the House, in censure of Austria, and in praise of the Hungarians, but declaring, that we could take no part in a mere domestic struggle, as which this between Hungary and Austria must be treated. This and the subsequent answer led Kossuth to the belief that, in the same terms, no other nation would be permitted to interfere; and that there might be no grounds of offence, he kept his forces off the Russian frontier.

But before the news of the appointment of Governor reached Vienna, the Russian intervention had been resolved upon. Count Stadion, the Prime Minister, unable to resist, and terrified at contemplation of the effects, went mad.

We must hasten over the remaining events. The Russian army marched slowly towards Hungary, and Görgey made but little effort to oppose them. Several battles were fought with various success. Görgey, instead of joining the armies of Klapka and Bem, made a sort of tour through Hungary, as if for the purpose of sparing the forces of the enemy the loss from any battles. The Russian and Austrian armies effected a junction; and on the 4th of May Buda was stormed. Kossuth and the Government retired from Pesth to Szegedin, and thence to Arad. Here Görgey arrived on the 7th of August, 1849, with his army dispirited and demoralised by long retreat and lax discipline. During the whole of his retreat Görgey had been in constant communication with the enemy, and, arriving at Arad, he immediately came to Kossuth, and told him that the Russians had promised to guarantee the laws of 1848, on condition that Kossuth should cease to be at the head of the Government, and appealed to him, therefore, as a patriot, to abdicate. On the 9th Dembinski's army, then commanded by Bem, was defeated at Temesvar. Kossuth called a council of Ministers; and as the majority were for accepting the Russian terms, and Görgey was in possession of the fortress, he, on condition that Görgey should ensure to Hungary the laws of the previous March, signed his abdication. Görgey made no effort to fulfil his pledge, but, on the contrary, on the 13th, surrendered at Villagos his entire army. The news spread fast, and, with little exception, all the other forces dispersed.

Kossuth, with about 5000 men, after having received from the Pacha of Viddim assurance that he should be treated as the guest of the Sultan, speedily crossed the frontier at Orsova on the 18th of August. This known at Constantinople, the Ambassadors of Russia and Austria demanded in right of certain treaties, that they should be given up or expelled. The prompt reply of the

Sultan in private was, "No; rather perish the empire, than violate the rights of hospitality." The diplomatic answer was longer, but no less distinct—the substance of it that the treaties had, in the case of Kossuth and his companions, no force. Upon this interpretation there was no difference of opinion. The Sultan dispatched an ambassador extraordinary to St. Petersburg, and the demand of Russia was withdrawn. Meanwhile some parties, eager for proselytism, and armed with the words in the treaty of Kainardji, excepting from being delivered up or expelled, those who in Russia should embrace the Christian, or, in the Ottoman empire, the Mahometan faith, conveyed what was at that time wrongfully believed to be a message from the Sultan, that the sole safety of the refugees lay in their becoming Mahometans. Bem and Kemetty adopted the condition; Kossuth answered that he would be sent to death rather than abjure his faith.

The Sultan having so far given safe asylum to the refugees, and braved all risks by his interpretation of the treaties, applied to France and England for their opinion upon his decision. The reply of Lord Palmerston, dated Oct. 6, 1849, and subsequent correspondence contained in the papers laid before Parliament, at the commencement of the last session, approved in general terms the conduct of the Sultan, in not giving up the refugees, agreed in words that the treaties had no force, but incessantly pointed to the alternative of sending away Kossuth and his companions, and suggested that they themselves must wish to leave the Turkish territory; that Turkey should most scrupulously guard against any violation of good neighbourhood against Austria and Russia, and should therefore carefully keep the refugees at a distance from the frontiers of Hungary.

During this period Kossuth was at Shumla. On the 3rd of October Admiral Parker with his fleet, either by stress of weather, or for show of efficiency, or to make display of a readiness to carry away the refugees, entered the Dardanelles, and the Sultan finding that he was to have no support unless he obeyed, in strictness, the good neighbourhood hint, sent the refugees, on the 19th of November, to Buda, and finally, on the 12th of April, to Kutayah, an engraving of which we have given, from a drawing by an Hungarian officer of engineers, which is so accurate that every house in the city can be shown upon it.

The escape of Madame Kossuth and her children is a story full of interest. Russian intervention and the treason of Görgey having turned the fortunes of war against Hungary, Madame Kossuth determined that her husband should not be alone in danger, and resolved to accompany him from Pesth to Arad; but, to spare the children the privations to which, were they with them, they must inevitably be exposed, they were entrusted to the care of a female cousin, by whom they were to be conveyed to another relative, with whom it was hoped that whatever turn *events might take*, they would be safe from discovery.

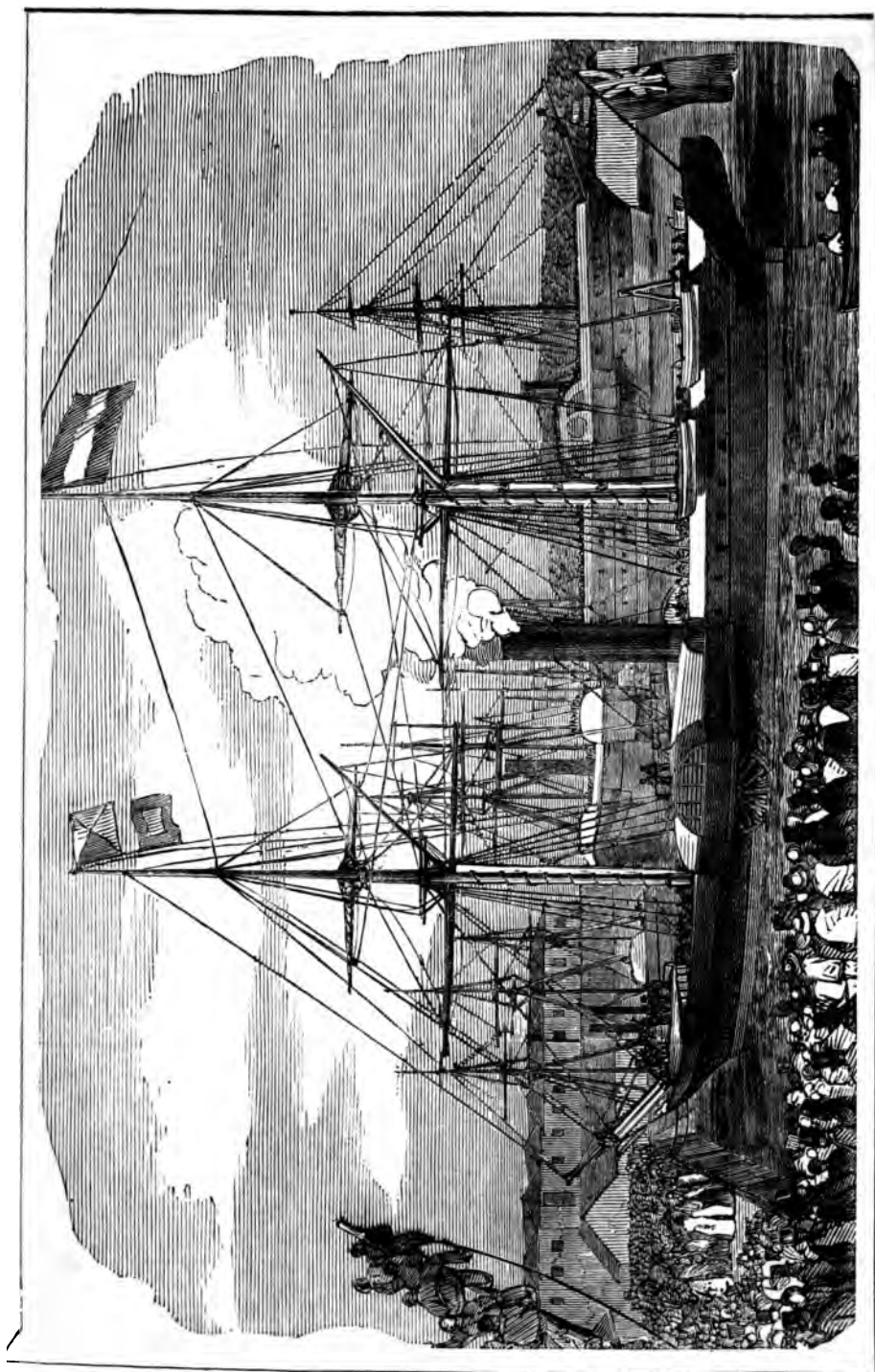
When, in full reliance on the promises of Görgey, in whose honesty he had still the most entire faith, Kossuth resigned at Arad his rights as Governor, and Görgey had completed his campaign of pretence and treachery, by surrendering his entire force, there was no safety for Kossuth but in immediate escape into Turkey. The children were also in danger; for Austria, in revenge, would spare neither young nor old: one of Kossuth's most faithful followers was therefore dispatched for the children, and Madame Kossuth set out to meet them. A proclamation was issued, declaring that whosoever should afford her shelter would place themselves under martial law. She first stayed at the house of her brother, in Villagos, and for receiving her he is now a prisoner, under sentence of ten years' confinement, in Comorn. Leaving him she found refuge at a farm-house, where she was seized with typhus fever, and was for several weeks dangerously ill. Meanwhile the children, in charge of their tutor, and a near female relative, were on their way, when they were captured in the county of Vezsprém, and carried to prison at Pesth. There they were very far from being humanely cared for; in the garden they were closely guarded by soldiers, their food was no better than that of grown-up prisoners, and but for the kindness of persons in the town they would often have been on short allowance. Their tutor, the gentleman who had been taken with them, and whom they begged to be allowed to see, was not permitted to come to them; but when they had been a couple of months in confinement, Haynau came, that he might enjoy the pleasure of seeing Kossuth's children in gaol; and having satisfied his curiosity with sight of them, and impressed their memory with his fierce look and long moustache, he went away, promising, however, that they should be better fed.

The children had been six months in confinement, when, on application of Madame Meszlenyi, Kossuth's sister, they were given to her and their grandmother at Pesth, but were to be kept constantly under the eye of the police. Here they excited the greatest enthusiasm. When they went out the people flocked round them; shoemakers must make their shoes for nothing, tailors their clothes—the country people brought them bread, flour, fowls, all sorts of provisions; many a poor peasant who had but a couple of eggs brought them. The children were looked upon as giving assurance of Kossuth's return. "He never left his children," said they; "he will come back; we shall have Kossuth again." These demonstrations determined the Government to let the children be sent to Kutayah. They left Pesth in May, 1850, and on the occasion were the subject of quite a demonstration: thousands flocked to see them off, and parted from them with regret.

Madame Kossuth was still suffering from illness when the news reached her that her children had been taken. Her object now was to cross the frontier, and make her way to her husband; but, a reward of 40,000 florins were offered for her

capture, and however faithful the peasants, she could be safe only by being unknown. It was impossible for her to obtain resources—she must scarce even make inquiries as to the direction of the roads. In various poor disguises she wandered about—was conveyed from place to place in peasants' carts—was frequently whole days without food. Her spirit, however, had strength sufficient for the weight of her misfortunes. She obtained employment as a servant, in the family of a carpenter, in the town of Orach. She was taken there as a poor woman recently out of hospital, and utterly destitute. At length she made her way to the house of a friend, where, however, so active were the police and spies, it was impossible she could remain. She informed this lady of her intention to assume the name of Maria F—, to pass as the widow of a soldier, and to seek safety in the great pasture plains of central Hungary. With this resolve she set out, in the disguise of a beggar, and reached through trials, and hardships, and long and wearisome journeyings, her place of refuge. Amongst the truest friends of Kossuth was a Madame B—, who when the refugees had crossed the frontier, set out on foot to aid in the safe conduct of the children. Learning that they were in prison, she contrived to have her own maid-servant appointed as their nurse, and then set out in search of their mother. No one could give her information of Madame Kossuth; she therefore journeyed to Shumla, learned from Kossuth the name of the very friend to whom his wife had confided her assumed name, procured a letter from him to her and his signet ring, returned to Hungary, found the lady, heard the story, and set out for the plains, in search of Madame Kossuth, as a poor old grandmother seeking her grandson. In a peasant's hut she at length heard the name, Maria F—, and learned that the soldier's widow had worked hard, until overcome with illness, she had been taken to the institution of the Sisters of Charity. There the letter and ring of Kossuth were delivered to his wife; and, accompanied by Madame B—, she commenced her perilous pilgrimage for the frontier, in a little country waggon. They were shortly joined by a relative of Madame B—, who travelled with them, as a merchant. Several times they had most hair-breadth escapes—at one place the friend sleeping at the door excited suspicion; at another an hysterical attack roused the vigilance of an Austrian officer, who occupied the next room, and who was only thrown off his guard by the complete rusticity of curtesy and voice with which the miserable looking women received him. On the evening of the same day, they were taken by two of the police before a magistrate, as suspicious characters; but all suspicion was cleared away by the police themselves, when a sum of money was slipped into their hands.

Saubine, the last Hungarian town on the Danube, was at length reached: the chief of the police at first refused them *passage*, but finally allowed them, on the plea that they were in



ARRIVAL OF M. KOSSUTH IN THE SOUTHAMPTON DOCKS.

search of some healing herbs. Late at night they arrived at the house of the Sardinian Consul, and were received with fervid and hospitable welcome. Here Madame Kossuth, overcome by long fatigue, again fell ill. They found that Kossuth had gone from Viddim to Shumla; and though it was mid-winter, they determined on her recovery to set out at once. The Prince of Servia placed his own carriage and four horses at their service. The British Consul supplied passports. The journey was a severe one; the snow was in many places several feet deep, and oxen were often required to extricate the carriage. Twenty-seven days were spent upon the road; on the twenty-eighth a courier announced their approach to Kossuth. He was ill. The authorities, in constant dread of some Austrian violence against him, refused to allow him to go out to meet the travellers. They arrived at night on the 16th of January, 1850, and found the town illuminated with the Hungarian colours in white, red, and green lamps. The refugees met the carriage at the gates. Kossuth was only able to leave his bed and wait their arrival; then, on the impulse of the moment, he knelt at his wife's feet and kissed them.

In the October of 1850, Kossuth was visited by Mr. David Urquhart, M.P. for Stafford; Mr. Algernon Massingberd; Rigaldi, whom Lamartine calls the greatest improvisatore that has ever appeared; and the author of the "Revelations of Russia." They remained at Kutayah a month, and it was on that occasion that Mr. Massingberd requested that, on Kossuth visiting England, he would honour him by becoming his guest. They found Kossuth almost despairing, but raised his hopes. They had to tell him of the meetings and petitions in England, and of a world-wide sympathy for Hungary. They brought him books, and he commenced the study of works on the English constitution.

There were threats from Austria of occupying the Moldavian provinces of Turkey, if the Hungarians were liberated, but the United States sent their steamer, "Mississippi," to convey him to America; and on the 22nd of August, 1851, Suliman Bey came to Kossuth, announced his freedom, kissed his hand, and said, "Go; you will find friends everywhere now; do not forget those who were friends when you had but few." On the 1st of September, Kossuth left Kutayah, by way of Spezzia, Marseilles, and Lisbon, and reached England on the 23rd of October.

How well Kossuth spent the years in the fortress of Buda, and at Kutayha, thousands have had opportunity of judging from his speeches; they prove him not only to have mastered the language, but the problem of the power of public opinion; those who have heard him have felt that in his own tongue, and amongst an earnest, impulsive, and oppressed people, his oratory must have had irresistible effect.

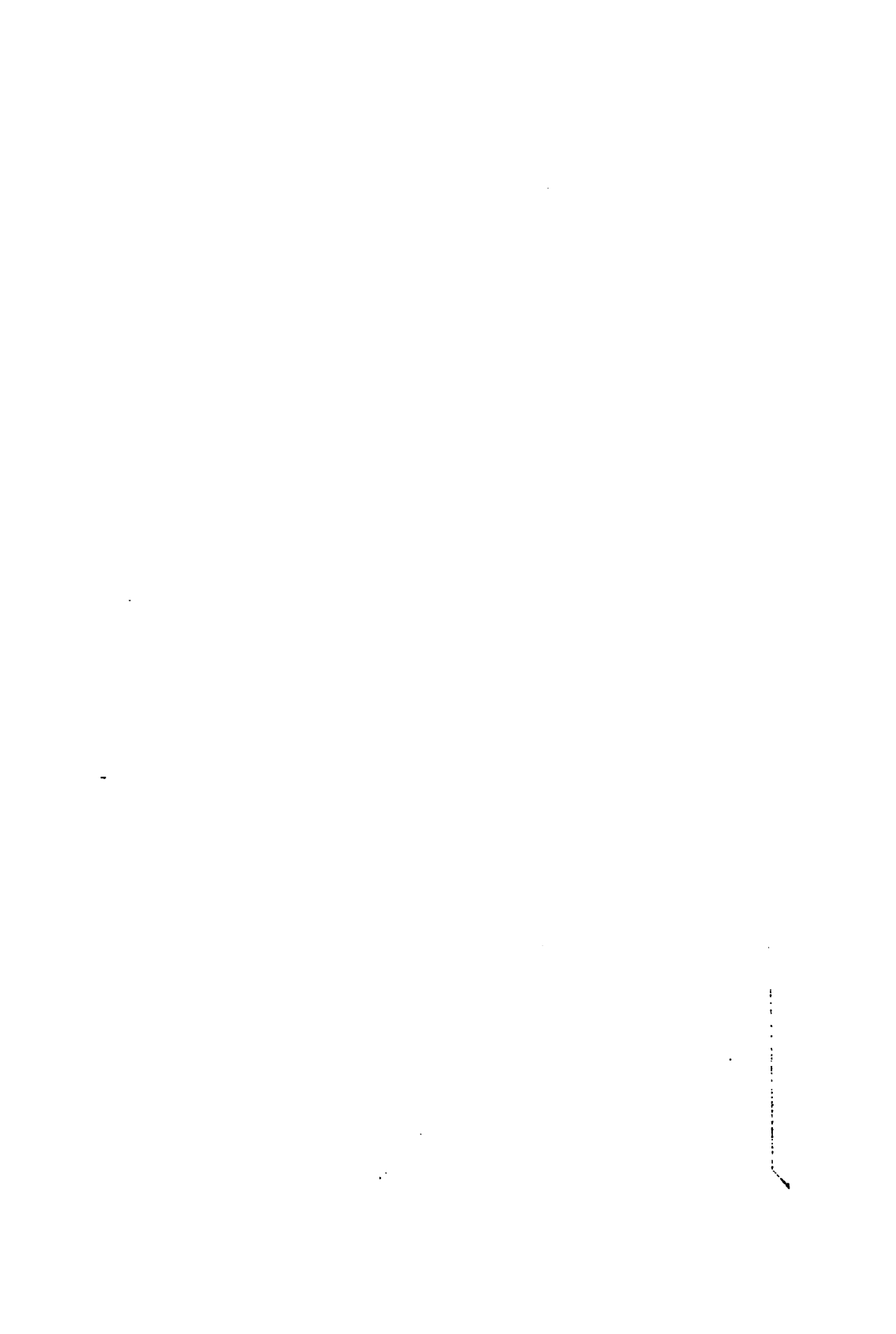
It was a voice calling upon their historic and race-inherited spirit of freedom to shake off the weakness of corruption, and put forth once more the strength that in ages past had made the land

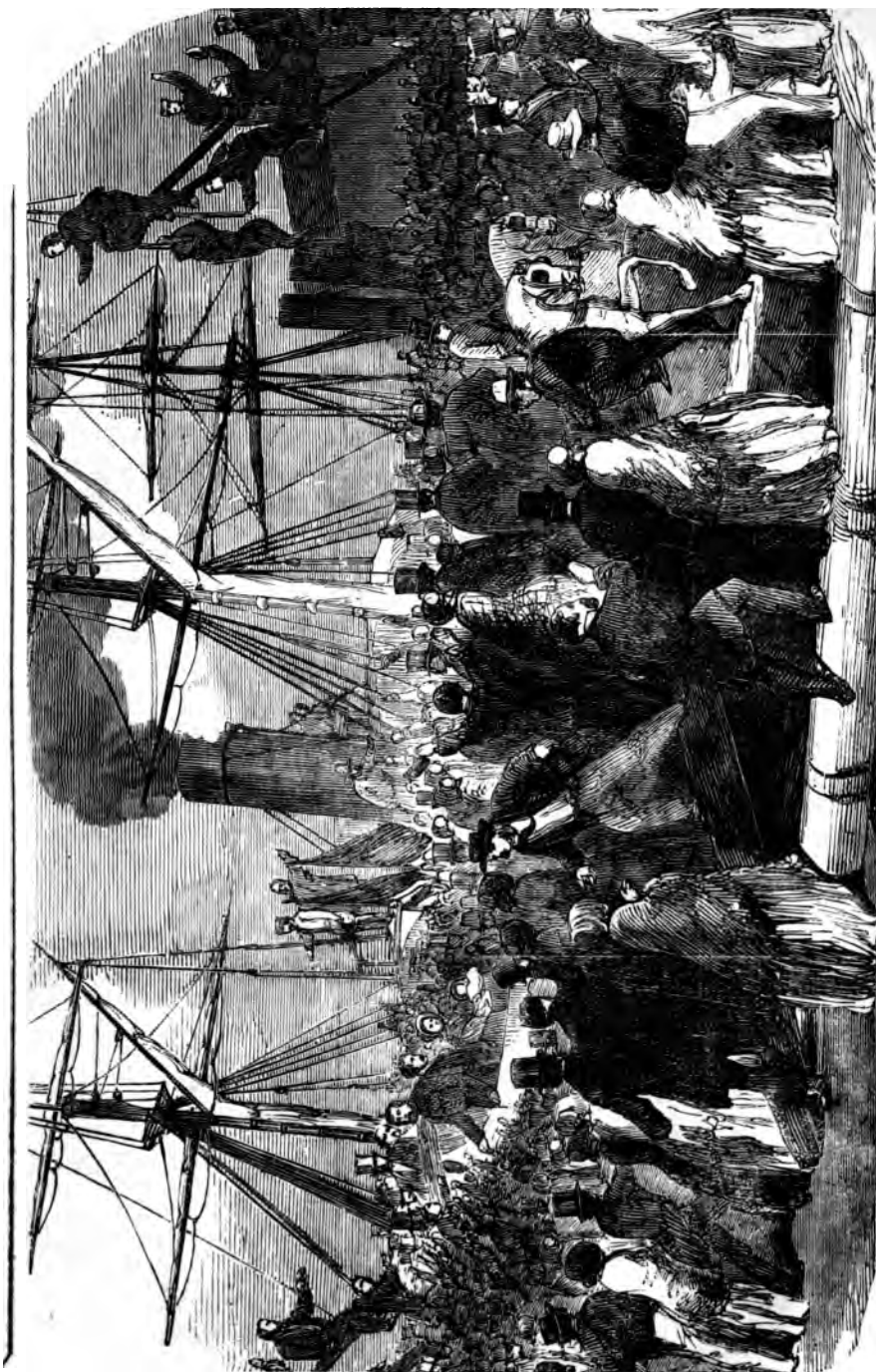
their own; there was no lack of facts to enforce the need for action. Hungary, with abundant sources of wealth, was poor; commerce and genius were alike oppressed by the ignorant avarice and imperial pride of Austria. The government was sought to be carried on by repression, intrigue, and bribery; there was no path to political eminence for free-minded and honest men; he alone could succeed, who, with his back toward the people, should bow before the Emperor; he must exalt one man to crush millions; against this the effort to strike the pen from his hand, awakened all the energy of Kossuth.

It became a revelation to him of his mission; the spark that kindled the inherent fire, and gave him a controlling power over the people.

His oratory caused them to rush forth in crowds to the camp to dare battle, though almost unarmed, because it spoke not alone, as he, but as they felt: it was the speech, not of a man exalting himself upon the people, but raising the people through themselves. He was not as an idol, but as a soul to them, and his spirit spread amongst them, soon or late, will win the triumphs to which he pointed.

But those who have seen Kossuth, who have noted his full massiveness of forehead, the disposition to speak low in his presence, his calmness and fervid nervous temperament, his expression of incessant thought, his complete possession by his subject and faith in his cause, and the deep quiet of his speech, waked at times to an impatience, just sufficient to betray keen sensitiveness, must have felt, that had this man had but somewhat more of the "*I will, and though the world should perish, it shall be*" of Cromwell or Napoleon, instead of his gentle yielding benevolence, and had had such knowledge of diplomacy as scarce an honest man under the present secret system of Europe could attain to, Hungary would now be, not biding her time, but victorious and whole amidst the ruins of the Austrian Empire.





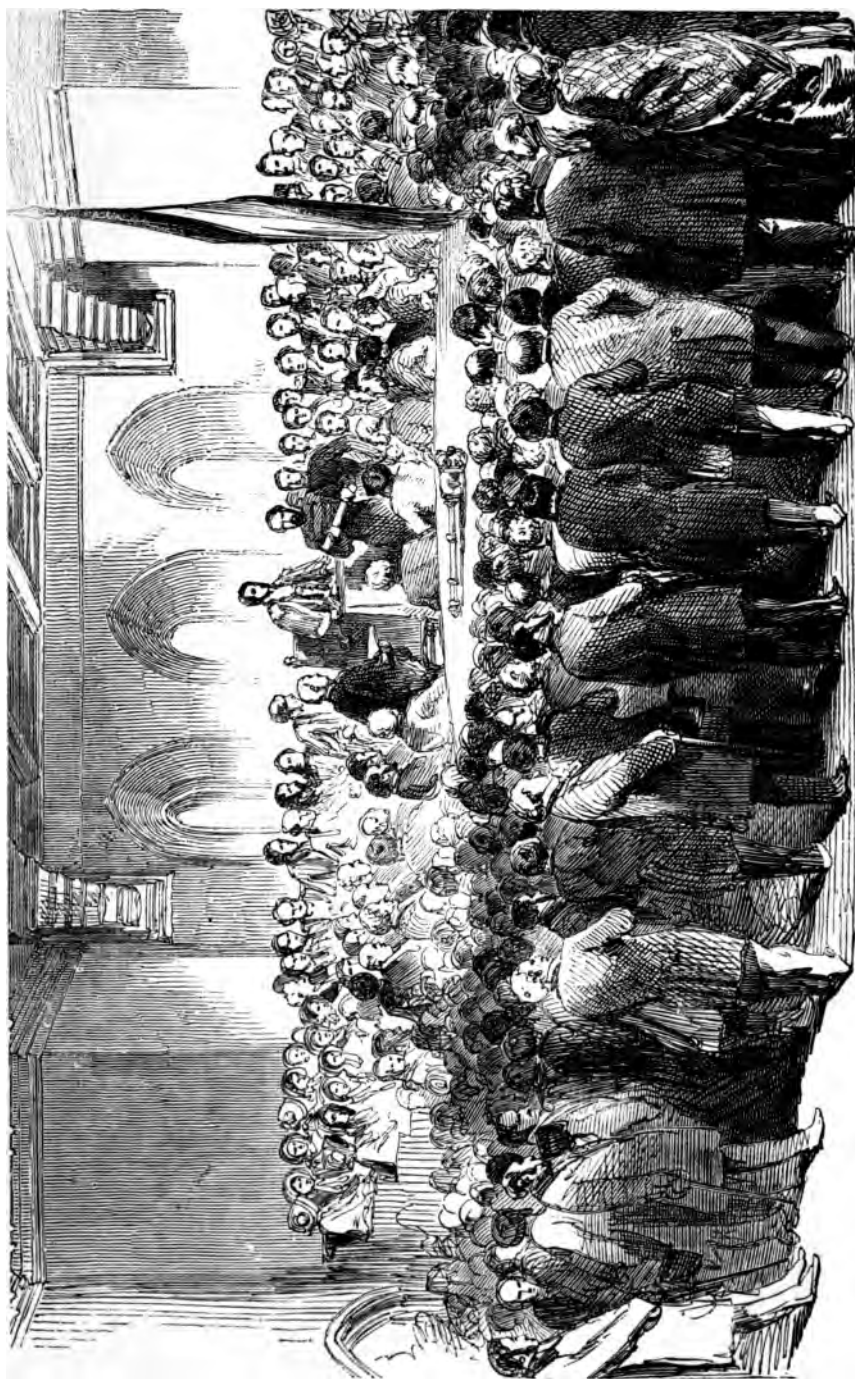
RECEPTION OF KOSSUTH, ON BOARD THE "MADRID" STEAMER, AT SOUTHAMPTON.

KOSSUTH'S ARRIVAL

SOUTHAMPTON, when its inhabitants were expecting hourly the arrival of Kossuth, presented an unusual appearance. Usually a quiet place enough, it was, on Thursday, the 23rd of October, in complete holiday guise. Strange, bearded figures of grave men strolled about the principal streets, and reported the last rumour about the ship at sea, with vehement gestures. These were Hungarian patriots, waiting for their fallen chief,—waiting with uncontrolled impatience, and expressing their disappointment when a signalled vessel, reported to be the *Madrid*, turned out to be the *Thames*, West Indian packet. From the dawn of day, the members of the Corporation had been on the alert; and as the sun rose, the *Indus* arrived in dock with the intelligence that Kossuth had sailed from Gibraltar in the *Madrid*, and might be hourly expected in port. This intelligence spread rapidly about town. From the railway station a telegraphic message informed Lord Dudley Stuart, in London, that he would be in time to receive the patriot if he started by the one o'clock train. The Hungarians strolled instinctively towards the dock, and gazed out to sea earnestly. In due time the *Madrid* was signalled,—she was rapidly approaching her destination. When this fact reached the ears of the Hungarians who were grouped near the vacant space cleared for the welcome vessel, they gave way to the warmest expressions of joy, embraced one another, and smoked more vehemently than ever. Time wore on, and the Mayor of Southampton was observed to be putting out in a boat, and presently the pulsations of the paddles fell upon the ears of many expectant men. The vessel came gallantly into dock. And now all eyes were strained in the direction of the vessel, and people began to mistake every individual who showed himself for the ex-governor of Hun-

gary. Boats were called into requisition, and M. Kossuth's friends unable to wait till the vessel was fairly moored alongside the quay, were rowed rapidly to the ship. From the quay they were seen to embrace fervently their old friend. The meeting between the Kossuth and Pulzsky families was warm in the extreme. Arms intertwined; fervent kisses; tears; the shaking of hands repeated frequently, yet never sufficiently renewed,—marked the meeting of Kossuth and his friends. As the vessel neared the quay, however, the enthusiasm of the Hungarians on shore knew no bounds. They extended their arms, waved their hats, pressed to the very edge of the quay, as Kossuth, in a dark-green braided coat, and low felt hat, became plainly discernible. "Eljen Kossuth!" and "Hurrah!" rang through the air as the vessel's side touched the quay. With his friends clustered closely about him, Kossuth reached the quay. And here he was besieged by his countrymen; and tears stood in his eyes as he shook them by the hand. Everybody crowded about to feel the pressure of his palms. In a few minutes Kossuth and his family were mounted in a carriage-and-four; and on their way, through an unbroken crowd of enthusiastic spectators, to the Mayor's official residence. Crowds pressed about the carriage, and threatened to shake the patriot's hand from his arm. At last he reached the Mayor's house, followed by the Mayor and the Hungarians; and a few minutes after his arrival, he made his appearance on the balcony, amidst enthusiastic cheers, and, with uncovered head, pronounced his first public words in England as follows:—

I beg you will excuse my bad English. Seven weeks back I was a prisoner in Kutayah, in Asia Minor. Now I am a free man. (*Cheers.*) I am a free man because glorious England chose it. (*Cheers.*) That England chose it, which the genius of mankind selected for the resting monument of its greatness, and the spirit of freedom for his happy home. Cheered by your sympathy, which is the anchor of hope to oppressed humanity, with the view of your freedom, your greatness, and your happiness, and with the consciousness of my unhappy land in my breast, you must excuse for the emotion I feel, (*cheers.*)—the natural consequence of so striking a change and so different circumstances. (*Cheers.*) So excuse me for not being able to thank you so warmly as I feel for the generous reception in which you honour in my undeserving person the cause of my country. (*Cheers.*) I only hope God Almighty may for ever bless you, and your glorious land. Let me hope you will be willing to throw a ray of hope and consolation on my native land by this your generous reception. (*Cheers.*) May England be ever great, glorious, and



M. KOSSUTH RECEIVING THE CORPORATION ADDRESS, IN THE TOWN HALL, SOUTHAMPTON.

free, (*cheers*,) but let me hope, by the blessing of Almighty God, and by our own steady perseverance, and by your own generous aid, that England, though she may ever remain the most glorious spot on earth, will not remain for ever the only one where freedom dwells. (*Great cheering*.) Inhabitants of the generous town of Southampton! in shaking hands with your Mayor, my best and truest friend, I have the honour to thank you, and to salute with the deepest respect, you, the inhabitants of the industrious, noble-minded, enlightened, and prosperous city of Southampton. (*Loud Cheers*.)

Madame Kossuth and her children were then presented to the crowd, amidst vehement cheering; the band played "Auld lang syne," and afterwards "God save the Queen." On hearing the National Anthem, the patriot added:—

It is, gentlemen, a glorious sight to behold a queen on the throne representing the principle of liberty. (*Loud cheers*.) You have that privilege. In thanking you once more for your generous welcome let me add an expression of my feeling, in which I entreat you to join. I give you three cheers for your gracious Queen. (*Loud cheers*.) God bless her! God bless you all! (*Renewed cheers*.)

Fatigued with the voyage, Kossuth then retired. In the afternoon, he again attended at the Town Hall of Southampton, to receive the Corporation and other addresses. To that of the Corporation he replied as follows:—

Mr. Mayor and gentlemen of the municipality of the town and borough of Southampton, excuse me, an unpretending stranger, for not being able in your own language duly to express the warmest sentiments of thanks and gratitude for the honour of your generous welcome, and for those generous sentiments which you, Mr. Mayor, were pleased to address me. (*Cheers*.) I was already before my arrival bound by lasting gratitude to the town of Southampton for numerous tokens of the most high-minded sympathy with the cause of my dear native land, and of protection to its exiles; and, being prepared for the honour of this occasion, you will excuse a few words, I may say inspired by your presence, and said to you without any preparation. (*Cheers*.)

It is indeed an honour to be welcomed by the people of England in this noble town. It is the highest gratification to me that it was the municipality of the first town I had the honour to meet, which receives me in such a generous manner. It is not on this day only, but from my early youth, that this glorious country had a mighty share in my destiny. (*Cheers*.) I was used to look on England as on the Book of Life, which had to teach me and the nations of Europe how to live. (*Loud cheers*.) Through three centuries the house of Austria has exhausted against

Hungary the arts of open violence and secret intrigue, and it was our municipal institutions which still, among the most arduous circumstances, conserved to Hungary some spirit of public life and some part of constitutional liberty. (*Loud cheers.*) It was at the time when this fatal sickness of political feeling to centralise every power, and to tutor the people into this notion of political wisdom—when this fatal sickness, I say, spread over the continent, and made its way even to my own country, so that it became almost the fashion and almost a mark of intelligence to bend towards the doctrine of centralisation, that I, my humble self, with a few friends who stood by me, struggled against this storm—against those rushing waves coming over the spirit of Europe, because I regarded, and I ever shall regard, municipal public life as a public benefit, without which there is no practical freedom whatever (*loud cheers*), and for the loss of which I think all Ministerial responsibilities and Parliamentary privilege but a pitiful equivalent. (*Cheers.*)

In this land is seen the finest fruits of this conquest of liberty; the glory outside, the freedom within, unwithered by the blighting finger of centralisation. (*Cheers.*) When I first read the French constitution, I foretold that great and glorious French nation should have to go through many storms, because it did not abandon its fatal principle of centralisation; and because it is only in municipal institutions freedom can be developed. (*Cheers.*) That is my conviction. Sir, I hope England will be for ever “great, glorious, and free;” but when I look to history, and see what is this land and the English race, the only single one which is free in both hemispheres of the world, and when I look for the key of this freedom, I readily confess I believe that it is not only those municipal institutions, which are not absorbed by the propensity to centralisation, which so conserved that freedom, though under different forms of government,—here in England, under a monarchical form, in America under a republican form—that it was not those institutions only, but the spirit of the people embodied in those institutions, which made these two great offsprings of a mighty race great, glorious, and free. (*Cheers.*) Therefore it is with the highest satisfaction I receive this address from your hands, and from the corporation of Southampton. As to my own humble self, conscious of no merit, and never aspiring to whatever reputation, but to that of a plain honest man, faithful to the duty of a true friend of freedom and of a patriot, I could not forbear to feel perplexed to see myself the object of such undeserved honours, were I not aware that this manifestation is intended rather openly to countenance that principle of freedom, of justice, of popular rights, for which my nation has valiantly struggled, and which you so happily enjoy. (*Loud cheers.*)

It is a glorious position the English race holds—almost the only one that is free—it is the only one, the freedom of which has neither to fear the changes of time nor the ambition of man, provided it keeps to its institutions, provided that the public spirit of the people continues to safeguard that which is best for the exigencies of the time, and that their manly resolution never fails to meet those exigencies in time. (*Cheers.*) This watchfulness and resolution being the chief guarantee

of your country's greatness and happiness, I take for the most consoling hope to oppressed humanity; for I have the most firm conviction that the freedom and greatness of England are in intimate connexion with the destinies and liberty of Europe.

It is not without reason that my native land and all oppressed nations look up to you, as to the elder brother to whom the Almighty has not in vain imparted the spirit to guide the tide of human destiny. There is one thing that is a prominent feature in your race,—a result of no small importance in our struggles,—that the sentiments of this race are spreading over the world, and that it is not the least of the glories you call your own, that the people of England appear to be resolved to take the lead in the new direction of the public opinion of the world, out of which the highest blessings will flow. The generous sympathy of the people of England for my bleeding, struggling, down-trodden, but not broken, native land (*loud cheers*), is one, but not the only one manifestation, by which England shows she is ready to accept this glorious rôle of the elder brother of humanity. (*Cheers.*) This country, though it has not to fear any direct attack on its own liberty, still knows that its welfare and prosperity, founded as they are on the continued development of your genius and industry, cannot be entirely independent of the condition of other nations. The people of England know that in neither social nor political respects can it be indifferent whether Europe be free or groaning under Russia and her satellites; the people of England are conscious of their glorious position—it knows that, while it conserves its freedom, it cannot grant the privilege to Russo-Austrian despots to dispose of the fate of Europe, but must have its weight in the balance of the destinies of Europe, or England would no more be an European Power. (*Loud cheers.*) And it is this knowledge which is the source of hope and consolation to my oppressed country, as well as to all the fellow-nations of Europe, for by the principle on which your freedom continues, and on which your happiness is founded, and by your generous sentiments, we are assured that let the people of England once throw their weight into the balance of the fate of Europe, then they will never assist despotism, but freedom (*cheers*); not injustice, but right; not the ambition of a few families, but the moral welfare and dignity of humanity. (*Cheers.*)

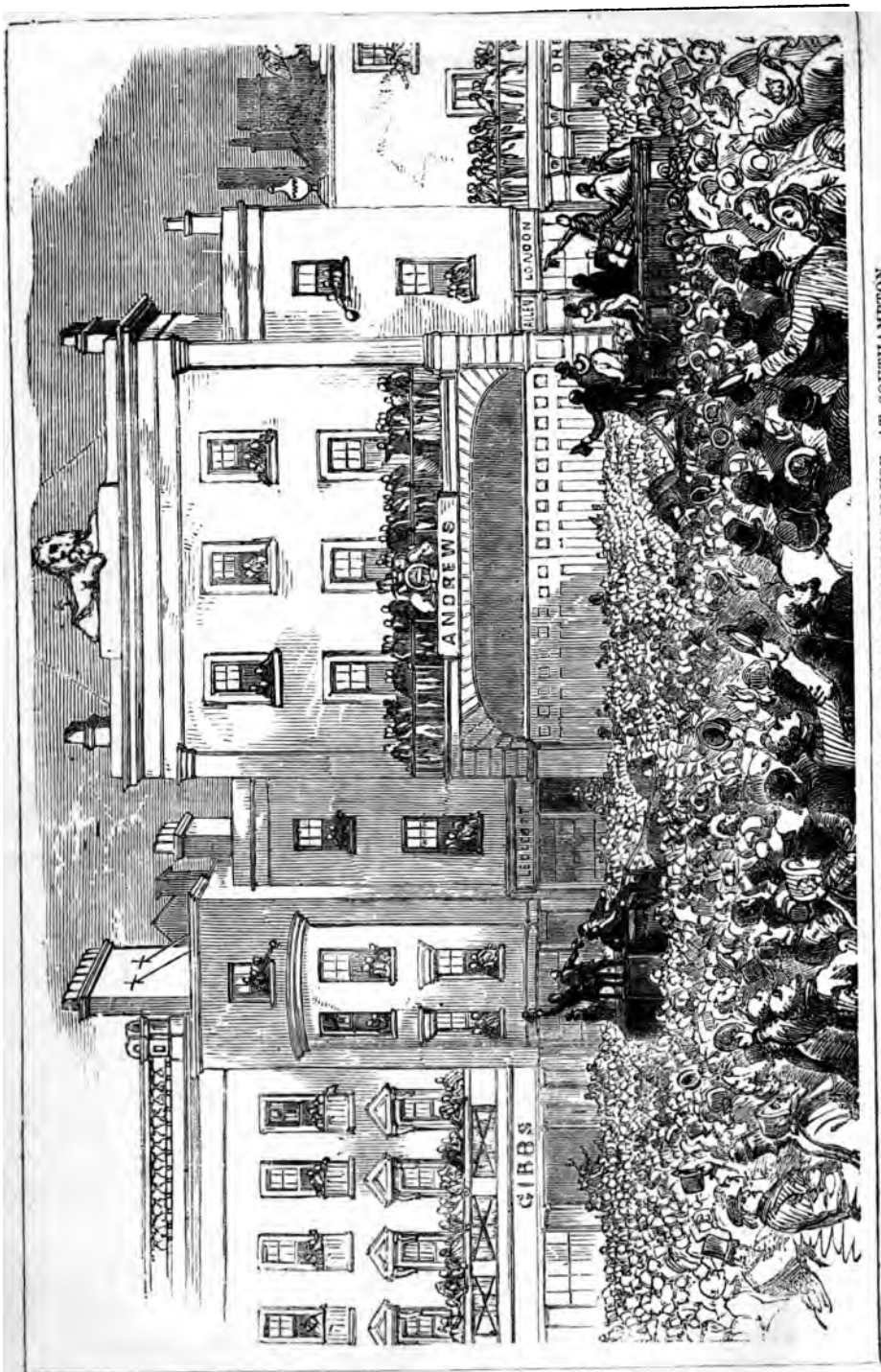
Such were my expectations of the public spirit of Britannia, which you by this generous address have raised to the level of conviction by assuring me you have the belief and hope that those principles for which we have struggled have a future in my own native land. Seeing you to entertain this hope and belief is almost like a victory itself (*cheers*), because this manifestation cannot fail to influence in the most effectual manner the public spirit of my nation, and to double her perseverance and my own in her cause. (*Cheers.*) And, besides the prophecy of freedom is almost realised, for when the people foretell it you have the self-confident power to make good your own words. I hope the Almighty will grant, before I leave this country and cross the ocean, and go to the young giant, the younger brother of your mighty race, and thank him for the generous protection bestowed on me, and entreat his

brotherly hand for the future of Europe and of my own country, that I shall see established in full activity and spread over these glorious isles, some of those mighty associations by which you carry the triumph of every great reform and of every great principle in your constitution. (*Loud cheering.*) I hope to see some of those associations lending its attention to the solidarity of the independence of Hungary, with the hope that the peace of Europe and the future of these glorious isles will take for its aim to give a practical direction to the sympathy of the people for my poor down-trodden country—that the people of England will look upon my unhappy land, and that they will reduce to a ruling principle that sentiment of the public spirit of Britannia which evidently shows itself to be ready to accept the solidarity of the destiny of mankind, and especially of the liberty of Europe itself. (*Cheers.*)

I thank you for the generous wishes you have bestowed on me. To me life in itself is not of value—but only so much as I can make some use of it to the liberty and independence of my own country, and to the benefit of humanity (*cheering and applause*); and, though I have to decline all praises bestowed on my own personal character, as I am conscious I have nothing done but only that which I considered my own simple duty to be, while I am sorry my modest faculties could not equal my devotion to my native land; still I take this expression as an encouragement to go on in that way which I took for the aim of my life, and which I hope the blessing of the Almighty and the sympathy of the people of England, and of all generous hearts over the world, may help to carry to a happy issue. (*Cheers.*) Let me, in pronouncing a most sincere wish for the happiness, greatness, and freedom of these glorious isles—let me repeat what I take to be a most glorious sight to see—your gracious Queen representing on the throne the principle of liberty (*cheers*), and let me hope the acknowledgment of this principle will not only have a future in Europe, but that the time draws near when we shall have to applaud the success of those endeavours which now live in your generous sympathy, even in adversity and misfortune. But it is a much greater merit to acknowledge a principle in adversity than to pay a tribute to its success. (*Loud cheers.*)

Excuse me that my words cannot flow more freely: my tongue has been devoted to my own native land. I have not had time to participate to myself a greater knowledge of the western civilisation of Europe, but my life has been devoted to admiration of England (*great cheers*); but never was there a man who appreciated better your institutions than myself, and you never will meet a man more faithfully addicted to you, and who has a warmer sentiment of thanks and gratitude towards you and towards your glorious land of liberty.

Enthusiastic cheers for M. Kossuth, and three hearty groans for Austria, followed the delivery of this speech. The Mayor then presented M. Kossuth a large silk banner, worked as the flag of the Hungarian Republic by Hungarian ladies at New York, and



M. KOSSUTH ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE FROM THE MAYOR'S HOUSE AT SOUTHAMPTON.

snatched from a custom-house sale by the Mayor of Southampton. M. Kossuth pressed the flag to his heart, and said :—" I receive gentlemen, this flag as the most valuable trust intrusted to the people of Hungary ; and I swear to you, whatever be our fate, cowardice and ambition shall never tarnish this flag." To the working men's address he replied :—" Those men who, by that great gift of God, industry, have raised their country to be the living wonder of the world."

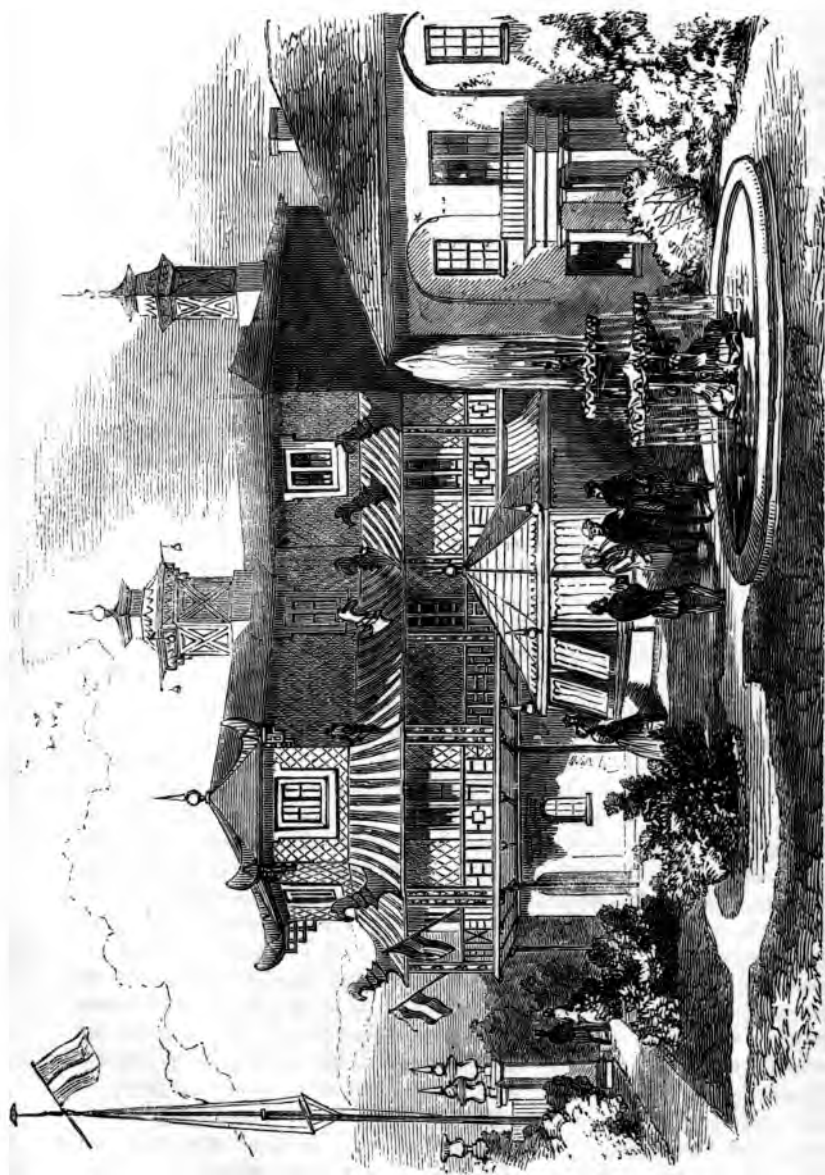
Various gentlemen then invited the patriot to various municipal banquets.

SPEECH AT WINCHESTER.

ON Saturday, the 25th, M. Kossuth dined with the Mayor, and other distinguished guests, at his residence near Winchester; on which occasion he made the following speech:—

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—

In rising to thank you most heartily and most sincerely for those noble-minded, generous sentiments which you, Mr. Mayor, were pleased to express, and for the sharing in that expression of those noble sentiments by you all, I cannot forbear a strong emotion, which, however, is not quite subservient to eloquence. Besides, I must say that I am quite unprepared for this opportunity to address such a distinguished assembly of friends and brothers. (*Cheers.*) Though not quite unaccustomed to speak in my own language, still I must feel it now a double difficulty to address you connectedly in English; and, therefore, permit me for a moment to ask your indulgence while I address you. I feel, gentlemen, that the generous sentiments you have expressed I can attribute to nothing else than to the noble sympathy which so well befits the free Englishman for the noble principle of liberty (*cheers*), and to the belief that the cause of Hungary was a just cause, and was a cause intimately connected with the principles of freedom. (*Cheers.*) Now, instead of a vain effort to give you a good speech, perhaps it would be better for me to take the liberty to allow me in a plain common manner—still begging excuses for the faults of my language, which I cannot fail to admit—to give you some information—(*cheers*)—about the true nature of the past struggle in Hungary, because I suppose I can be excused to have this egotism—to be anxious to conserve those generous sentiments, and I believe there can nothing better be done than by plain common statement of the facts, without any flourish with an attributional pomp, as they passed in Hungary. (*Cheers.*) To understand exactly the Hungarian cause, it is quite necessary to be somewhat acquainted with the true nature of the form of Hungarian institutions. You all know that Hungary was for more than eight hundred years in Europe always a constitutional monarchy, and perhaps this is no small proof of the elements of life which, in my notion, are to be found when we consider the geographical position of



EXTERIOR OF THE COTTAGE OF THE MAYOR OF SOUTHAMPTON, AT WINCHESTER.

Hungary, and the moral position of the native Magyar race,—an Asiatic people thrust into the midst of European nations, without any kindred, without any affinity, without any resemblance,—and when we consider they were surrounded on all sides by absolute and despotic powers ; on one side Turkey, which encroached, for centuries, not only upon civilisation, but on religion, and where my poor nation was the bulwark of Christianity in Europe ; on the other side the Russian empire, which has, not for the benefit of mankind (*cheers*), grown up prodigiously in the one-and-a-half century ; on the third side, the Austrian power—not the Austria of to-day, for that Austrian empire is a very new one—but the Government of the house of Hapsburg, which never, if there be told truth by history, gave one friend to political freedom,—though one genius it had, one friend to religious freedom, one friend to the rights of conscience, but even he quite in opposition to the social and political freedom of the people,—the Emperor Joseph II. This then was our position. Turkey, Russia, and Austria, or rather the house of Hapsburg,—by such was Hungary surrounded ; and, besides, the people, which must ever be considered as the most firm and mighty basis of greatness and welfare of a country (*cheers*), and as the most strong, sure, and powerful safeguard of its liberties—the people in Hungary unhappily were excluded from political rights, they shared not in the constitutional benefits ; and still this Magyar race, in such difficulties of circumstance, through eight centuries and more, has conserved, not only its life, but its constitutional liberty and national institutions. (*Cheers.*) There is in such a race, in such a nation, elements of a future ; and I believe, with some pride I have a right to say, such a nation deserves to have freedom. I told you, a little ago, that the people had not shared in the constitutional rights of the country. The constitution of Hungary was an aristocratic one entirely ; but it was an aristocratical constitution which had somewhat a different meaning from that which you attach in England to the word aristocracy. Aristocracy in Hungary was not synonymous with power and with the weight of wealth, but was simply an aristocracy of birth, and was not reduced only to elder brothers ; but whoever had a father a nobleman, he and his children, and their children's children remained, through all centuries, noblemen always. (*A laugh.*) What was the consequence ? The consequence was that, as human fate is subject to many changes of circumstances, the descendants of the old noblemen of Hungary did not remain wealthy, great, and powerful, but became diffused, and, by the course of centuries, descending among them, became almost one part of the people itself ; so that the great part of the aristocracy of Hungary remained as poor, ay, poorer, than the people, because the noble had ambition not to work ; as if work was not the greatest honour to humanity. So, therefore, we had not only a landed proprietary, but we had these most poor classes of the aristocracy, which were not only in the same condition as the people, but which were still, now and then, in a worse condition, not being so industrious. But one prominent feature was that the old aristocracy was not quite so opposed in its great extension to popular rights and to the popular

interest as we find it to be in the middle ages on the Continent and through Europe—because we must confess that the aristocracy of England has known in time to meet the exigencies of the time, to share their privileges with the people, and to take its part in the burdens of the people, and therefore the aristocracy of England remained when those other aristocracies were swept away like dust from the earth. (*Cheers.*) In Hungary the nobility was not in the same position, but the noblemen mixed with all classes of the people—they were not in strong opposition to the people, but they were agriculturists, working not their own soil, but the soil of their landlords; but they became manufacturers; they engaged in every trade and every profession, and therefore it was not in such opposition to the people as the word “aristocracy” signifies here; and, though it is no wonder that in Hungary and between the bounds of this aristocratic constitution, where the people had no right to speak for itself, it should not have had its full share of privilege, still, out of the ranks of this aristocracy which I have characterised are always found in the past, and through all their history, generous men who manfully struggled by all legal means to improve the condition of their country, and who strove for the rights of humanity. Now in this struggling for the rights of humanity and the improvement of the condition of the country we had, according to our constitution, in Hungary two principal means. The first was—to call it by a name which is popular and is understood here—the Parliament of Hungary; and the second was by our county and municipal institutions. Those municipal institutions were, still more than in any other part of the world whatever, against the encroachment on the rights of the nation by the Government, because these county institutions were so framed that the Government had no right to convey any order whatever but only through the medium of the county meetings. The county meeting was composed of all noblemen who were residents in that county, and the noble population in a county might number from twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand persons, and in some counties it amounted to thirty thousand. Therefore every one of the nobles had a right to speak in these meetings; not, of course, every one on every occasion, but according to the importance of the business, and the number of them that appeared in the same way at these meetings. Every noble had a right to be elected a magistrate of the county, who were the only executive power of the orders of the Government; so that when the Government ordered something to be done, the hand of execution was that of the municipal magistrate of the county, who alone had to carry it out; but, the magistrate never coming into contact with the Government, could receive no order but only through the medium of the county meeting, which county meeting met in public assembly had the right to discuss the legality of the Government order, and when the majority of the assembly held an order of Government to be illegal, it did not go into the hands of the magistrate to execute it, but the meeting made a remonstrance against it to the Government, and therefore these municipalities were a very powerful, strong bulwark against the encroachments of Government.

And to be sure, no country in the world had greater need of such a barrier than Hungary, because we have been governed for three centuries by the house of Hapsburg, which never, according to the evidence of history, had a single fixed friend to political freedom. I do not know whether I am weary. (*Loud cheers, and cries of "Go on."*)

Now, the house of Hapsburg ruled Hungary for three hundred years. It ruled Hungary, not by conquest, but by the free choice of the nation (*cheers*); not by the free choice of the nation, without conditions, but on the basis of treaties, the chief feature of which treaties is that the monarch should reign in Hungary by the same lineal succession as in the dominions of the house of Austria; that the Austrian dynasty was recognised, and should remain Kings of Hungary, and thereupon the King took on himself a sacred duty to respect and conserve the Hungarian constitution, and to rule and govern Hungary by its own public institutions, according to its own ancient laws. And that was the duty of the King. I swear to God, I swear to the eternal God, that I hope He will so bless me as I shall keep that word. (*Loud cheers.*) This is a *résumé* of the facts so far. Well, out of the thirteen kings we had of this house and dynasty, no one who knows anything of history can charge me with exaggeration when I say that their rule was one of continual perjury—of perjury, gentlemen (*loud cheers*), that is the word—perjury. (*Cheers for some moments at his emphatic delivery of the word.*) I am a plain common man; I call things as they are.

Now, when the Hungarian nation elected the house of Hapsburg to the throne of Hungary—of this Hungary which is larger than 400,000 German square miles, which is equal, as I am told, to 100,000 English square miles, with a population of 15,000,000—no small country, gentlemen; no small little patch of land—when she chose the house of Hapsburg, all the other provinces of the Hapsburg were constitutional monarchies. Every other of these states had a constitution, and every one of these afterwards united to her had one too; but by and by, through the course of three centuries, the house of Austria has gone on in a straight direction to be an absolute monarchy; and now, before our past struggle, not one place our province in her dominions had a constitution—the ambitious, despotical house of Austria—rather, I should say, the house of Hapsburg, had absorbed every single one of them. (*Loud cheers.*) The constitutional life of Hungary was not absorbed because it did not belong to the Austrian Empire. Hungary had no other connexion with Austria than Hanover had with England, with this difference only, that Hanover had a different line of succession, while the line of succession of Austria and Hungary was the same. But we had laws and coronation oaths and pacifications, which declare that there should be no connexion between Hungary and the house of Austria, but this, only to be ruled by the same sovereign; not that Hungary should not have a right to be ruled by its own laws, rights, and institutions; so much so, that should we happen to have a King come to the succession of the sovereignty, being a child in his minority,

Hungary should not be governed by the same person as ruled over the Austrian provinces, because there existed in the house of Hapsburg a family treaty by which the eldest of the house must be the tutor (*i. e.* Regent) to the empire, but by the law in Hungary it must be a Palatine who rules as tutor of the King; and therefore there was this possibility, that a Regent might have to govern Austria, while another Regent was governing Hungary. Therefore the constitutional life of Hungary was not absorbed, and chiefly was not absorbed because by the municipal institutions—by that strength which can never be broken (*cheers*), it resisted the encroachments of the crown. I consider these municipal institutions to resemble in a fair instance the siege of Saragossa, where, after Napoleon's army had taken the town they still had to fight single battles in every street. (*Cheers.*) So was it always in Hungary. In my own time, though a young man yet, I remember that there was a time when the house of Hapsburg, without the help of any Parliament, attempted to destroy the constitution, to levy troops, and to raise the taxes to two and a-half times their former amount; and that out of the fifty-two counties in Hungary, influenced by every means which Governments—immoral Governments—have at their disposal, only some ten or twelve registered the decrees, but that the others constantly resisted them by lawful grounds and that this resistance on a constitutional and lawful basis overthrew them. It was, as I said, just like Saragossa, where the town was taken indeed, but where the fight went on from street to street, and house to house. (*Cheers.*) So it was, notwithstanding these encroachments, we conserved some shadow of constitutional liberty; but the house of Hapsburg, after having absorbed all constitutional life in its dominions, came to this, that there was only Hungary, which is so bold as to oppose it in its aim to be entirely an absolute monarchy, and, seeing that its head availed himself of every means in his power, of open violence, of all kinds of intrigues, to destroy and overthrow our constitution; he fomented our discords, he undermined our national character, he impoverished us, he corrupted us, he oppressed, and, by-and-by, our rights were taken away, and by-and-by we became aware our municipal institutions and our Parliament, which should have been convoked every three years, and was not convoked once in twenty years, though taxation went on, and an arbitrary Government went on—were not enough; and we became aware that some two hundred or three hundred or four hundred or five hundred nobles by birth, meeting by right in their county meetings, were not sufficient to defend the constitution of the country against the predominant direction of the head of the Austrian absolutism; and that was the origin of our endeavours, which are as old as twenty-eight years; that men influenced by justice and pure patriotism took for aim to go on, degree by degree, and step by step, to make the people participate in constitutional right and liberties. That was the aim and direction of the public life of Hungary from 1825.

The more Hungary has felt this necessity because she had a Board of Government, a Commission or Council of Government, which, by law, was made responsible not only not to do anything contrary to the law,

but not to carry into execution any order of the sovereign himself, contrary to the law; but still we saw there was no responsibility in that Council, because no corporate body can be made responsible. Individuals can be made responsible, but where the Government is collective, responsibility is a folly (*cheers*), and vanishes like a dream.

We saw that our national independence and the lawful rights of our nation were entirely absorbed by the Austrian Government, and in our times chiefly by Prince Metternich, who was all in all in Austria. We were conscious that the Austrian Ministry had nothing to do with the affairs of Hungary, that the Emperor of Austria, as King of Hungary, was obliged to govern Hungary by its own laws, and not as he liked. We did not like these Austrian influences, and we took, as the direction of our efforts, to give the people their national share in the constitution, in order that they might be the safeguard of the constitutional life which 400,000 or 500,000 were not able to defend, but which a people of 15,000,000, united in the great principle of common duties, and equal, may have good reason to defend. (*Loud cheers.*) In the peasantry in every country, to be sure, the agricultural classes are of important consideration (*hear, hear*), but they are chiefly so in Hungary which is almost entirely, with few exceptions, an agricultural country. Of course the condition of this peasantry was the first topic of any design to reform; and, seeing that the country, in all material respects so highly gifted by nature, could never be converted into an earthly paradise, such as you have made this land, but by free work, where every one enjoys the fruits of labour, we saw also that the agriculturist had to work for his landlord one hundred and four days in the year. If you take off the Sundays, the festival days and the winter, why what remains to him? (*Hear, hear.*) And still, he had to give one-ninth to his seigneur, and one-tenth, or the tithes, to his bishop. That was a condition quite contrary to justice, contrary to the inborn dignity of the people, to the future of Hungary, and to the rights of human nature. (*Cheers.*) Therefore the first step we took was to emancipate the peasantry (*loud cheers*); but being, as I have briefly stated, under very arduous circumstances, and as the legislative power was in the hands of the nobles, these reforms went on but by slow degrees. In the Long Parliament, as I may call it, which sat from 1832 to 1836, the Lower House, that is, the House of the members elected by the county meeting, it was proposed that every peasant—I do not know what to call them (*a voice*,—"Serfs"),—that every peasant should have a right to make himself free of his seignorial and feudal burdens by paying off the capital to which the amount of these burdens came. (*Cheers.*) Do you understand me? (*Loud cheers.*) We wished, then, that this should not be dependent on the will of the landlord to accord it to him, but that an estimate should be made of what was the worth of those duties and burdens, and that if the peasant should pay the capital estimated at the rate of 5*l.* or 8*l.* per cent., he should be free. (*Cheers.*) This was opposed by the House of Lords, and then, by the influence of the Government, it was reduced to this,—that, when the landlord should give his consent to it, every peasant, as also every corporation of peasantry together, should have the right to be free. This

proposition I have stated was agreed to by the common consent of the House of Lords and House of Commons, but it was rejected by the Government,—that is, the Austrians rejected that reform. That was the issue of the reform question in 1836. I mention it as a fact. And here I must explain—whatever your opinion may be as to pledges I know not—that the members of the House of Commons were not entirely plenipotentiary, but received their instructions from the county meetings, which were sitting four or six, or even ten times a year, and which controlled their representatives, and instructed them how to vote. The intrigues of the Government, therefore, were chiefly directed to the county meetings in order to carry bad instructions, and then we perceived, for the first time, the very dangerous direction of the movement of the Government with respect to these institutions, to endeavour to influence, to ruin, to weaken, to corrupt our public meetings and municipalities. (*Hear, hear.*) Still, with respect to our Legislature, there was, fortunately, some independence left in these public meetings, for though our Supreme Court, who is something like your Lord-Lieutenant of Counties, was named by the King, yet being a member of the House of Lords, and being present in Parliament, he could not continually influence the meeting when the instructions were framed, and therefore Government had no one present, fit by his influence and station to carry out its views, and its means of corruption were few. They therefore adopted the new rule, which was leaving nominally the Lord-Lieutenant to appoint besides an administrator in his place, who had orders to be present at every meeting, to control every step they took, and never to leave his county, and everything being in the hands of the Lord-Lieutenant, such as gifts of offices, so to make the votes of county meetings a mere nonsense, or to make them rather a tool of the Government. Therefore, we opposed it with all our possible strength, but we opposed it, not in any privileged view, but because we wished for the independence of the municipal institutions in order to carry out reforms in this direction—not to make the condition of Hungary such that there should be there no close privileges for a few, but to erect a temple of liberty there for all the people. (*Loud cheers.*) But the more we developed our progress in a view to reforms, the more the Government insisted on the progress to demoralise the people. That was our condition when the Diet met in November or October, 1847, just before the French Revolution. You see, then, that we in Hungary were not planning revolution. (*Loud cheers.*) Hungary was not the soul of secret conspiracy, but we in public meeting struggled, fairly and openly, for the rights of the people. (*Loud cheers.*) I myself had the honour to be elected member of Parliament in 1847 as deputy for the chief department, in fact, by its geographical position, the metropolitan county, of Pesth, where the Austrian Government did everything possible to oppose my election; but the good sense of the people (*laughter and cheers*) carried it out to a triumphant success. When we came to the Diet, the first question I proposed, according to the instructions of my constituents, was that the municipal institutions of the country should be upheld in their natural purity, and that the system of administrators *should be put aside*, and that if this motion was not carried, no taxes

should be voted. On this motion the House of Commons and the House of Lords did not agree for two months, because it was necessary both should agree to carry a bill before it could be laid before the King; but there is no limit to the number of communications which passed between the two houses, so that they might go on to the number of one hundred or three hundred till the question is settled or abandoned. This measure did not meet the approbation of the House of Lords, because it was composed for the most part of functionaries named by the Government, or of those who aspired to be the nominees of Government. Still, we were happy to have the most important part of the Lords of Hungary with us, at the head of whom was the unfortunate, the worthy of a better fate, Louis Batthyany. (*Cheers.*) These supported the House of Commons. Still the commission and Government went on to corrupt the county meetings, and I, seeing that we should get the worst in the end, and that the Government were carrying one after the other by violence and fraud, I proposed in the House of Commons that we should meet the continual encroachments of the Government by having recourse to the chief source of them. We saw that on the head of the King of Hungary, who is Emperor of Austria, two crowns are laid; the one was a constitutional crown, the other an absolute crown. These two opposite directions never could agree, they never could be united. Which of them was to prevail, history will show; but as we felt that the Austrian crown was the source of all encroachments on the rights of Hungary, and that so long as the two were united there would be no solidarity for the fate of nations in the future—so long as the house of Hapsburg does not restore their rights to the people of Hungary—so long will you see a rebellion ready to break out against Austria; and Hungary, having freedom, it was her duty, as elder brother, to seek to restore freedom to those other countries of which the house of Austria had deprived them. Seeing this, I proposed that it was our duty, as the elder brother of Austria, to go to the King and ask him to restore the constitutional liberties of the other portions of his dominions, and so by this means to put away the enchainment placed on the constitutional rights of Hungary. That was what I proposed. No just man can me charge that, by proposing this measure that was universally accepted by Parliament, I was planning a revolution. No one will say I was a Red Republican—the words of a true man, faithful to the rights of humanity, ever meet an echo in the breasts of generous Englishmen. (*Cheers.*) My speech was translated into German, it was published in Vienna, it was read in the coffee-houses, in the public resorts. And now the news of the French Revolution came upon us, and Vienna rose up in revolt (*loud cheers*); that was the Austrian Revolution. I myself, with a knowledge of all the circumstances of Europe before me, frankly own I decided not to be carried away by the elements, but to take the reins of the elements into my own hands (*cheers*), to avail myself to the utmost of the opportunity which God had given—not Hungary made. (*Loud cheers.*)

Our first proposition now was for the emancipation of the peasantry, which was carried unanimously by both Houses. (*Cheers.*) But I was anxious not to hurt the interest of any class, but rather to spare those which, though not just in their origin, by time, circumstance, age, had

got interlaced with the private fortunes of the people ; and I therefore proposed, and it was agreed to unanimously, that the people should be free of all its duties—free without paying anything for it. Liberty must not be paid for (*loud cheers*) ; but, at the same time, there should be an indemnity, not by the peasantry, but for the landlords. Hungary is rich enough to give compensation and indemnity to the nobles, and by good financial operations might be made to pay more than two or three times what it does now. I engaged my honour and my word that a full indemnity should be given, and the measure was carried unanimously ; the second measure I proposed was that, whereas before the people had every duty but no right, there should be an equality in duty and in rights, and that every man, according to his fortune, should contribute to the public necessities—this was also carried ; the third proposition was, that the people should be admitted to the right of electing not only members of Parliament, but the magistrates who administer the laws ; but, of course, half a million of people could not be convoked together in one room, and therefore the personal was transported to a representative basis, and every community was ordered to elect men to represent them in the county meetings. That being my chief directive principle—that I recognised the rights of men, the rights of families, the rights of communities, which I considered as not to be subjected to Parliamentary interference,—Parliament has no right to direct me how I shall rule my own family if I do not interfere with the rights of other families, and the same is true of communities in matters which affect a kingdom. Government should have sufficient power to provide for the public necessities of the whole country, to uphold and enforce obedience to the laws ; but it ought to have no power at all to encroach upon the rights of men, the rights of communities, or of municipalities in their own domestic matters ; that was my ruling principle. We ordered the Government to prepare bills for the representation of the parishes, but it was not enough for me and for my friends to establish municipalities as a barrier against the Government. Seeing the evil effects of the Administrative College, which, as a commission, could not be made responsible, we determined that as, as had often happened, part of these councils had been modified according to circumstances, we resolved to modify it so that the responsibility which was provided in the charter, but which was not a reality in effect, should be made real ; and that could only be done by substituting individuals for collective and general bodies. There were some other measures, with the details of which I shall not abuse your attention. Thus we had participation of the nobles in all public duties and taxation ; of the people in their general rights and responsibility in government. A deputation, of which I was a member, headed by the Archduke Palatine, was sent to Vienna, in the name of the future of Hungary and of Austria, and of the peace and happiness and tranquillity of Hungary, to ask the sanction of the King to these propositions. We were also instructed to ask the Emperor to restore to our friends in the other nations, and to our fettered brothers in Austria, their constitutional rights, and to interpose the word of Hungary *in their favour*. The agitation was then great in Vienna, as almost it

was in every other country in Europe, save this England only, which, having once established its peace by revolution, can enjoy its public liberties without any desire for another. Here all was quiet—on the continent all was movement. The Government of Austria still hesitated to give us our rights. I went up to the Imperial palace, and I told them there that if the deputation was kept long waiting, I would not guarantee on myself what the consequences would be, or that the movement that was taking place would not reach Hungary, if we were discomfited and disappointed in our just expectations, and I therefore entreated them to do us justice. They promised they would do so, if only Vienna was quiet, but that they did not wish it to appear that the house of Hapsburg was compelled, by its fears, to be just and generous. (*Cheers and laughter.*)

This was one of the moments in which I, in my own humble person, was a strange example of the various changes of human life. Myself, an humble unpretending son of modest Hungary, was in the condition that I had the existence of the house of Hapsburg and all its crowns here in my hand. [M. Kossuth here stretched out his arm with clenched fist across the table.] (*Tremendous cheering.*) I told them, “Be just to my fatherland, and I will give you peace and tranquillity in Vienna.” They promised me to be just, and I gave them peace and tranquillity in Vienna in twenty-four hours; and before the Eternal God, who will make responsible to Him my soul,—before history, the independent judge of men and events, I have a right to say the house of Hapsburg has to thank its existence to me. At last sanction was given; but while we received the promise of the King in one room, in the other room the Duchess Sophia, mother of the present King, and sister of Francis Joseph, was plotting with Metternich how to get rid of this word and sanction. In a few days afterwards, the King, who was afterwards deposed, came to Presburg, and sanctioned publicly our laws. I was there as a member of the Ministry, in which I was what you call First Lord of the Treasury, which I was forced to accept. I say so, because I can call the public knowledge of my nation,—my enemies in my nation as well as my friends,—that I always considered office and power as a burden, and as no glory; but that it was myself who, before going up to Vienna with the laws for sanction, addressed to the people of Presburg (assembled below) from the balcony, taking Louis Batthyany, my poor friend, by the hand,—“Don’t cheer myself. Here is the man who shall be—who must be, First Minister, President of Hungary;” but Batthyany refused to accept it, so I was forced to accept it; and I state this because I see it is said in some papers that I made myself Minister. We came down to Pesth, and in a few days after the Serbs revolted—stirred up, as it was quite clearly proved afterwards, by the intrigues of the Camarilla of Vienna. They took for pretext, that in the diplomes there was a treaty that a part of Hungary, containing about 200,000 people, was given to them; which nobody denied: but their design was, as is now quite clear, to separate that part of Hungary, and to form in separate provinces the Banat and Buchna, though they contain 2,000,000 inhabitants, out of which only about 300,000 or 400,000 are Serbs; some are Wallachians, some speak

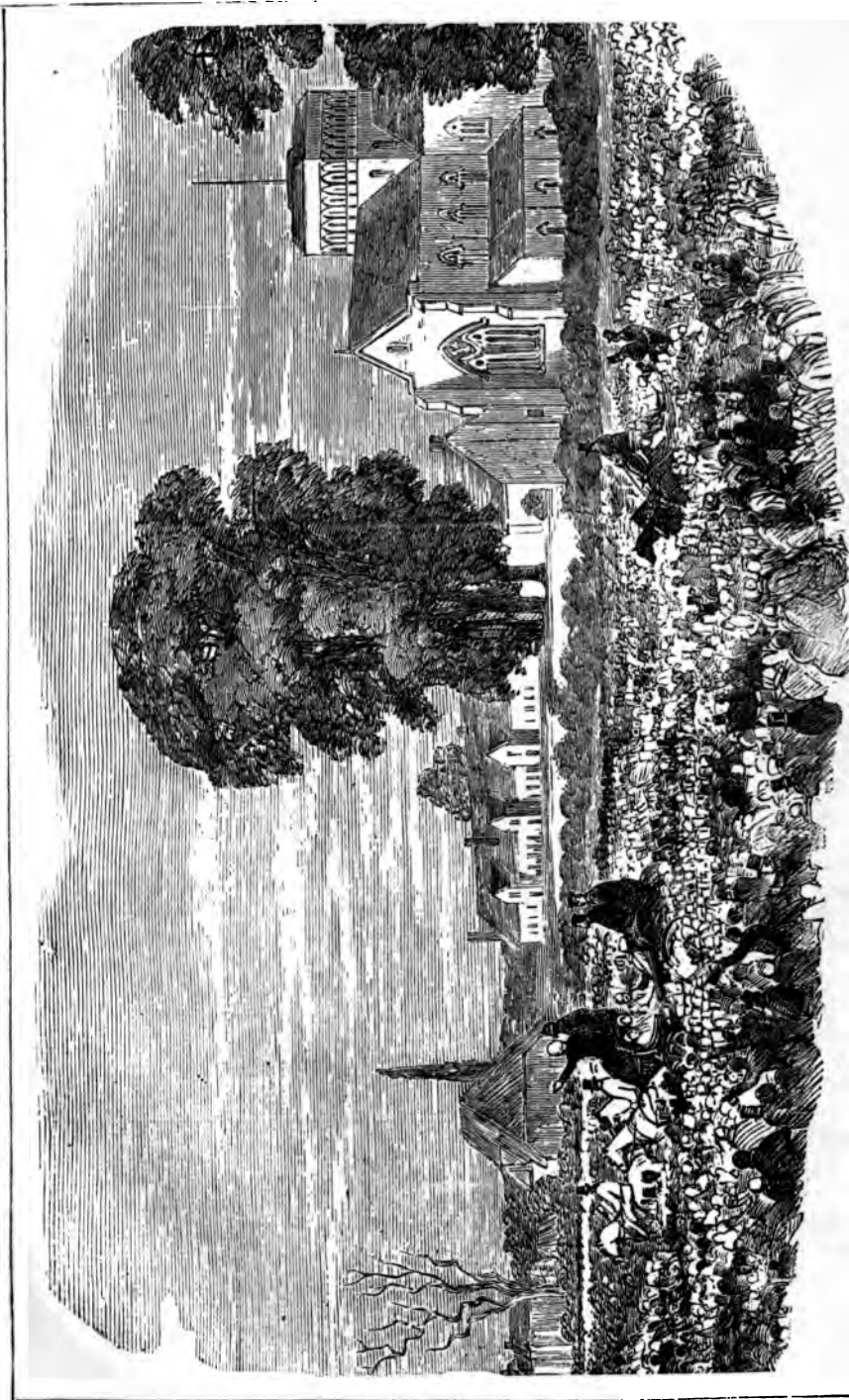
the German tongue ; but the Hungarian Government, seeing there must be some plot by which the poor people were misled, did not employ all the necessary strength to suppress it ; besides, I must also state that one of the chief political manœuvres of Metternich was ever and ever to oppress one nation by another ; but our army was drawn out of the land—one part in Bohemia, one in Italy—and we had German, Polish, and Wallachian troops in Hungary. Without entering into details, I will only state that the revolt spread itself over Croatia, which declared it was independent of Hungary, without any reason at all. And I will state that the head of this revolt of the Serbs and Croats was the Ban Jellachich. We entreated the King to give his command to convoke Parliament, in order to take measures against these internal disturbers. The King gave his consent, and I, as Minister of State, stood by the side of the Archduke Palatine when he received the order of the King, who had fled from Vienna to Innspruck, where he had been visited by a deputation from Pesth, sent by the Diet, inviting him to come to Buda, to rely on them, and that they would defend him against half the world (*cheers*) ; and it has been proved that the Hungarians can defend the Crown. (*Cheers.*) I stood by the side of the Archduke Palatine when he read the declaration of the King, that he solemnly condemned the damnable efforts of Jellachich, and of the Serbs, and Croats, and Wallachians, who had rebelled against the common liberty of the land, which they enjoyed, without any distinction of the language they might use, or the Church to which they belonged. At that very time that the orders were given by the Ministers of Hungary to put down this revolt against the law, and that the King had convoked his faithful Parliament of Hungary, to provide as well for the army as for the financial means to defend and protect the realm ; that was done ; and in the convocation of the kingdom I saw one of the grandest sights of my life, when nearly four hundred representatives rose as one man, and, stopping me in the address which I was making, declared, “ You shall have it—you shall have all you want.”

While we were engaged in making these legislative provisions, the battle of Novarro, or rather the battle of Costlanga, was won by the armies of Austria, and the house of Hapsburg was saved. Now was the moment to crush Hungary. The King issued a proclamation in which Jellachich, who had been proclaimed a traitor to his country, was lauded as his most faithful servant, and thanks were given to him for his services, and in which the King begged him to go on against the Hungarians. (“ *Oh, oh.*”) There was not an honest man in the world who would not pronounce against such an act as that. We had no army—not more than 5000 men—he came down upon us with 30,000 men. We met him. We took, with our army, two generals, 12,000 men, and their artillery ; and this we did with people armed with scythes and without discipline. Jellachich himself seeking for a truce of two days only, obtained it ; and in the meantime, breaking his word of honour and his faith, he made his escape. (“ *Oh ! Shame.*”) We followed him. I was President of the Council, because at the time there was no Ministry, for the Ministers had resigned as soon as the King issued his proclamation.

How could they continue to act as Ministers with such an order from the King. (*Cheers.*) Now came an order that Parliament should be dissolved, which was forbidden by the constitution and by the laws, as the budget was not fixed; and further, the order stated that the King, superseding all constitutional rights, gave, as to his *alter ego*, Jellachich power to govern Hungary as Dictator—that very Jellachich whom he had declared to be a traitor. (*Cheers.*) We said, when we received this order—this is no order at all, it is not signed by a responsible Minister—Parliament cannot be dissolved, because the budget is not yet fixed, and the Ministry having resigned steps must be taken to conduct our defence. Jellachich escaped towards Vienna—I ordered to follow him. When he came to the frontier of Austria, I sent up instructions to the officer in command of the army to send to the commander of the Austrian army that he might be asked to respect the law of neutrality, and not to give any shelter to those who had revolted against us; but the Austrians not only protected him, but his troops joined the Austrian army. The Austrian army joined him—the siege of Vienna was made, and after that these two armies came into Hungary under the command of Windischgrätz, calling us, and especially my humble self, rebels. We opposed; we struggled; we fought battles; history will tell how (*cheers*), but still I must add one single thing, and that is, that though we had been victorious, defeated the Imperial armies in repeated battles, though the Emperor of Austria issued a proclamation, dated the 4th of March, 1849, when he, relying on the false report of the Camarilla of a victory in a battle that never was won, declared, by one scratch of his pen, that he blotted out Hungary from the list of nations, that that kingdom no more existed, that its constitution was torn up, and that Hungary was declared to be incorporated in the Austrian empire and ruled according to the laws which his good pleasure would give—notwithstanding we had beaten our enemies—notwithstanding this proclamation which severed all ties between Austria and Hungary—still we did not even proclaim a rupture with the house of Hapsburg. When did I make the proposal no more to acknowledge the house of Hapsburg? When I got true and exact intelligence that the Russian intervention was decided on, and had been accepted; and when I had got, I am sorry to say, the intelligence that, in order to avoid this Russian intervention, we had no help in the world—from nobody—no, not one.—[Here, overcome by irrepressible emotion, the voice of M. Kossuth faltered; he burst into tears, and for some moments was incapable of proceeding, while a burst of sympathy broke from the assembly. As soon as he had recovered, he proceeded, still agitated.]—Then I considered matters in my conscience, and I came to the resolution that either my nation must submit to the deadly stroke aimed at her life, or, if we were not cowards enough, not base enough to accept this suicide, it would not be amiss to put as the reward of our struggles—our fatal struggles—that which should have the merit of being worthy the sacrifice of the people; and if we had to contest with two great empires, if we had no one to help us, if we had no friend, and to contest in our struggles for the liberties of Europe, because now the Hungarian question rose

Europe high ; it assumed the dignity of an 'European question—if it was our fate to struggle for the liberties of Europe, as once we had struggled for her Christianity, and if God should bless us, I proposed as a reward the independence of Hungary, and it was accepted. (*Cheers.*) That is the statement, the brief—no, not the brief, but the true statement of the relations between Hungary and Austria. What was the result ? How we fell—let me not speak about it (after a pause)—that is a matter of too deep sorrow to dwell on. So much I can say, that, though forsaken by the whole world, I am to-day confident we would have been a match for the combined forces of these two despotical empires, but that it was my fault and my debility, that I, the Governor of Hungary, who had the lead of this great cause, had not faculties enough to match Russian diplomacy, which knew how to introduce treason into our camp (*cheers*) ; but had I been capable even to imagine all these intrigues, we should not have fallen. As it is, you know the house of Hapsburg, as a dynasty, is gone ; it exists no more—it merely vegetates. The emperor can only act by the whim and will of his master, the Czar. If only the Czar would not threaten every portion of the world where the prayers for liberty rise up from the nation to Almighty God—if the people of England would only decide that the Russian should not put his foot on the nations of Europe—if England would but only say, Stop—and nothing more—the boast of Paskievitch, that he would put his foot on the neck of Hungary, would never be realised, and Hungary, I am sure, would have knowledge enough, truth enough, and courage enough, to dispose of its own domestic matters, as it is the sovereign right of every nation of the world—(*loud cheers*), and to put down any aggression on her liberty. (*Cheers.*) Excuse me, gentlemen, if I have not answered your expectations ; I fear I have tired you, (*Loud cries of "No, no ;" "Go on, go on."*) My intention was to show you the past of my country was worthy of your generous sympathies, because it has struggled in a fair cause, it has struggled valiantly for its national existence, which, once lost, there is no resurrection more for the people. (*Cheers.*) That is the case of my country. I wish to secure for her your generous sympathy for this plain exposition of facts. The principle involved is one which you honour ; the cause has been honoured in my undeserving person. When landing on your shores, I was received by my kind friend the mayor, the father of the unfortunate, brother to the oppressed. Happy is the nation where such men as he rise from the people, for I have heard that it is one of his glories that he has risen by his own energy, by his own perseverance, by his own integrity, from the people ; and it is the glory of England, that such men rising from the people gain the love and the confidence of their countrymen. (*Loud cheers.*) Let me, in returning my best thanks, my heartfelt acknowledgments for the reception you have given me, propose, with the deepest affection and respect, "The health of the Mayor of Southampton."

The chief guests at this banquet were Lord Dudley Stuart ; Mr. Cobden, who made an enthusiastic speech ; and the American Consul, Mr. Croskey.



SPEECH AT SOUTHAMPTON.

ON the following Monday, M. Kossuth proceeded to London, to consult his doctor; and on the morrow returned to Southampton, to attend the great banquet, prepared in his honour, at the Town Hall. At this banquet the greatest enthusiasm prevailed; and, excepting the absurdities of Mr. Feargus O'Connor, who annoyed M. Kossuth with the wildness of his demonstrations, the meeting was altogether a happy one. In the course of the evening, M. Kossuth pronounced the following oration:—

This is the second festive occasion on which I have had the honour to express my most sincere thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Southampton, for the generous welcome with which they favour me, and to all the gentlemen for the sympathy with which they join this demonstration. (*Applause.*) God has awarded two blessings to those whom He has elected—bliss in heaven, and freedom on earth, (*Cheers.*) May you all—may your nation be blessed by both these blessings.

No man, aware of the value of his destiny, can live satisfied without freedom; but he to whom God has granted freedom, he has got all, if he has got the mind and the will to use his freedom for the development of his happiness with so consistent an exertion as the English people do. This is the basis upon which England has grown a paradise on earth, on which the eye and the heart rest with joy, and which must strengthen the desire in every foreigner to become likewise free, and, by becoming such, to be endowed with the possibility of converting other parts of the world into a paradise such as England is. (*Applause.*) During all my life I had but one leading idea—liberty. It was the aim of my life—the aim of my existence—to secure its blessings to my people, though I knew these blessings but instinctively. Now that I behold England, I see how liberty ennobles men and beautifies nature. (*Applause.*)

How should I, then, not be doubly determined—in spite of all danger, in spite of all difficulties—to endure, to act, to struggle, and, if it must be, to die, that my people should become free—my people, of which I can say, with deeply felt satisfaction, that there is no people on earth which deserves better to be free? But besides the bliss of liberty,

gentlemen, there is also a glory allotted to you; this is the proud position, which the English hold, not only to bear good will to those who do not enjoy their happiness, but also to offer their hand to their less fortunate brethren.

Gentlemen, this is a great glory, it raises the dignity of men. Being in that position, you, in your national capacity, carry into life, even in your relations and feelings towards other countries, the divine doctrine of our Saviour—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." (*Hear.*) It is only thus that I can explain the grand phenomenon, that so many noble-minded men, different in rank and station, but united all in the love and enjoyment of freedom, that they all join in the expression of their sympathy for the principles of freedom of which they choose to consider me an humble representative. Yes, it is so I can explain that even those honourable classes, whose only capital is their honest labour and their time, they stop their work and sacrifice their time to express with that noble instinct of the people before which every individual grandeur bows, that the great principles of liberty can reckon on the sympathies of the people of England.

And there is a reason why they can justly reckon on the sympathies of the working classes, for without liberty there can exist no lasting social order, so indispensable that everybody may enjoy in full security the fruits of his labour. Without liberty there is no field for productive labour, such as benefits those who work. Without liberty there is no personal security, and no security for property. And if it is not the aim of society to open a field for productive labour, to grant security to the person and property, and by this to develop man's mind, and to ennoble man's heart—if this be not the aim of human society, then I do not know what aim it can have. (*Applause.*) But it is also not without reason that all the classes of England are united in sympathy, in order that that liberty, which, under different forms of government but similar institutions, is the bliss and the pride of the English race in both hemispheres, should likewise be allotted to other nations, to enjoy it under a government which best suits their wishes and their wants. It is not without reason this sympathy, not only because there is a moral solidarity in the destinies of the nations, but also because where the productive powers of a people bring forth more than they can consume—as is the case in England—such a country must have free intercourse and an uninterrupted interchange of communication with the world, in order to secure the benefits of its labour, that by the stoppage of one channel there should not arise plethora no less dangerous than consumption.

Now, without the liberty of Europe there is no liberty of trade. All despots fear free trade, because the liberty of commerce is the great vehicle of political liberty. Free trade is only possible with free Europe. (*Applause.*) I hope I am not wrong in touching likewise on this material side of the question. I feel that it is fortunate as well as glorious when the material interests of a great nation are identical with the interests of the freedom of the world. This is a providential law. Even a single community can but enjoy welfare and security when the interests

of the whole are in harmony with the interests of the individuals. (*Applause.*) Your sound judgment, gentlemen, and your comprehensive views make it unnecessary for me to develop all I could say about the connexion of the material interests of England with the liberty of the continent. Be it sufficient to express my views in a few dry but truthful words.

The principle of all evil on the continent is the despotic and encroaching spirit of the Russian power. There is the pillar which supports every one who wishes to establish his ambitious sway on the sufferings of nations, raising himself on the ruins of their liberty. Russia is the rock which breaks every sigh for freedom, and this Russian power is the same which England encounters in her way, on every point—in Pekin and in Herat, at the Bosphorus and on the Sound, on the Nile and on the Danube, and all over the continent of Europe. (*Hear, hear.*) Even Jesuitism, which in latter times has again begun to raise its head, is employed in support of Russia. We are in the neighbourhood of a great country which unfortunately does not enjoy the fruits of sorrowful times and great sufferings. The Jesuit party in France threaten that country with the Cossacks. Even here, in this glorious country, a question connected with this not long ago was agitated, as well in public opinion as in Parliament. I know what is convenient to myself and due to you. I will not enter into that question. I will only state one curious coincidence—I am a Protestant. (*Applause.*) I am a Protestant not only by birth but by connexion. I am a humble member of a nation, the majority of which is composed of Catholics, and it is not the least glory of my nation that in all times we have fought and bled for religious liberty—Catholics as devotedly as Protestants. The rights and freedom of the Protestants were always strongly opposed by the house of Hapsburg. That house had always in history been closely united with the spirit of Jesuitism; but the freedom of Protestantism had been established by treaties gained by the swords of victorious Hungary.

Scarcely had Russia restored the house of Hapsburg by putting its foot on the neck of Hungary, when the first act of that house was to spill noble blood by the hands of the hangman, and its second was to destroy the rights of the Protestant religion in Hungary. The kings of Hungary in former times were always anxious not to allow any meddling of the Court of Rome in the temporal affairs of the Catholic Church, and a glorious king, Mathias Corvinus, a Hungarian by birth, once used these words to the Pope—"Your Holiness must remember that we bear two crosses on our ensign, and we will make our crosses pikes before we allow you to mix yourself up with the affairs of our Church." Since Russia had restored the house of Hapsburg, for a brief time the Jesuits have obtained full power to act. The encroaching spirit of Russia is that which every man in Europe relies on who wishes to do wrong. The identity of the interests of England with the interests of the liberty of Europe, gives me the hope that the generous sympathy which I have the honour to meet with will not remain an empty sound, that it will not remain without practical results for my poor country—for humanity.

(*Cheers.*) There is no party in England which can deny it, that the armed intervention of Russia in the affairs of Hungary has increased beyond measure the preponderance of Russia on the continent, while at the same time it has violated the sacred principle of the independent right of nations to dispose of their domestic concerns. It can, therefore, hardly be denied that, as long as Hungary is not restored to liberty and to independence, the weight of Russian preponderance over Europe will not subside, but will increase.

And what is it which I request in the name of my poor country, and in the interest of the oppressed people of Europe, from the great, free, and powerful English nation? Is it that England should take up arms for the restoration of Hungary? Oh no! All I request, and all I hope, is only that England should not abandon the weight which in Europe is due to her; that England should not grant a charter to the Czar to dispose of the destinies of the world. Public opinion in England can establish it as a leading principle in acknowledging the fundamental right of every nation to dispose of itself, not to allow the Czar to interfere with the domestic affairs of the nations of Europe. People of mighty Albion! this it is, and nothing more, which oppressed humanity expects, intreats, and hopes for. As to the rest, leave it to the nations of Europe themselves.

(*Cheers.*)

Austria—but no, I can't say Austria—I love, I esteem the people of Austria as my own brethren; I feel their griefs as keenly as those of my own people, and I have wishes and hopes for their future as fervent as those for my own nation. I have the right to say so. My life is an open book (*cheers*), and the judgment on it will be pronounced by disinterested history, and neither by the hirelings of the house of Austria, nor by party spirit, nor by blind passion, as also not by those base absurd calumnies, which in my position could not naturally fail to be launched against me, but still which I regret, not for myself, because they can but enhance the affection of every generous man, it being so natural to feel revolted at such mean, base work; but I regret them because it is no consolatory view to see our fellow creatures so delight in such foul calumnies which must offend the self-esteem of my people which chose me to be its chief. I am surprised to find these calumnies, even in places where I had not expected them. It may be, that relying on the affection that my people has for me—and they are a moral people, that never can be said in any instance to have given their confidence and love to a man who is not an honest man—it may be that for this reason it is supposed I will not entreat the protection of the law of England. I will, however, consider the matter as soon as my duties to my fatherland leave me a single moment to myself. (*Applause.*) Still, as I said, it is history will pass a verdict on me; and so I have the right to say before God and mankind, that the people of Austria never had nor have a warmer friend than myself.

It is, therefore, not in regard to Austria, but to the house of Hapsburg, that I wish to say some few words; and all I will say of it is, that its perjury, with which it has violated the rights of all its nations, has

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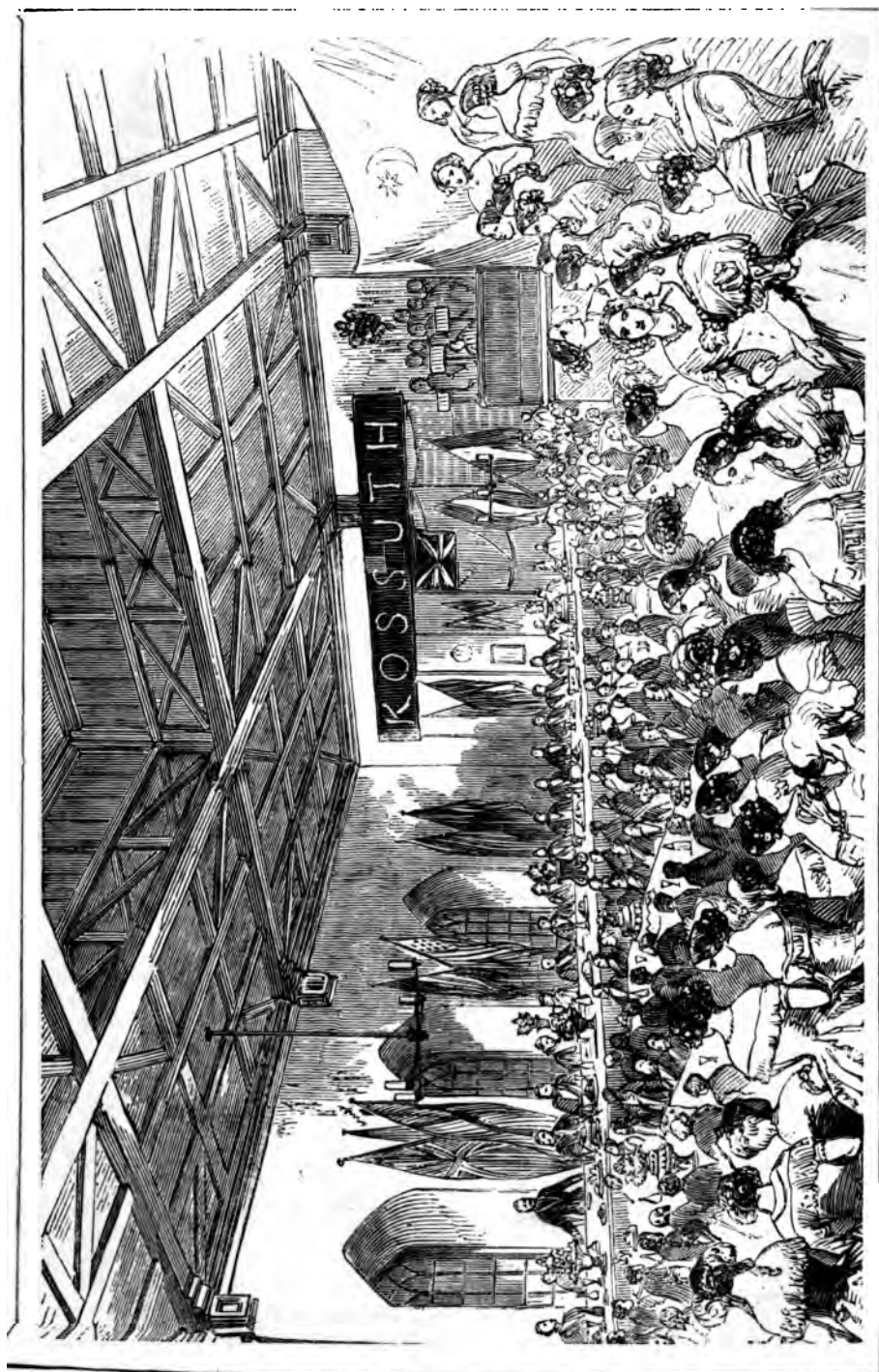
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DANQUET, TO M. KOSSUTH, IN THE TOWN-HALL SOUTHAMPTON

doomed it to destruction. There is a God in heaven, and therefore there must be justice on earth. (*Cheers.*) The house of Austria, having forfeited even the possibility of the love of the nations it rules, has lost the basis for its existence. Bayonets alone are no basis, for the soldier belongs also to the people, and the soldier thinks likewise. The continued loans are no basis; they lead rather to bankruptcy. What is it, then, upon which rests the house of Austria? It is on nothing else than its master the Czar, around whom the house of Austria moves as an obedient satellite. But while the Hapsburg dynasty can have no future, the people of Hungary has a future yet, because it deserves to live; it has a future, because it has vitality; it has a future, because its independence is a necessity to the freedom of Europe.

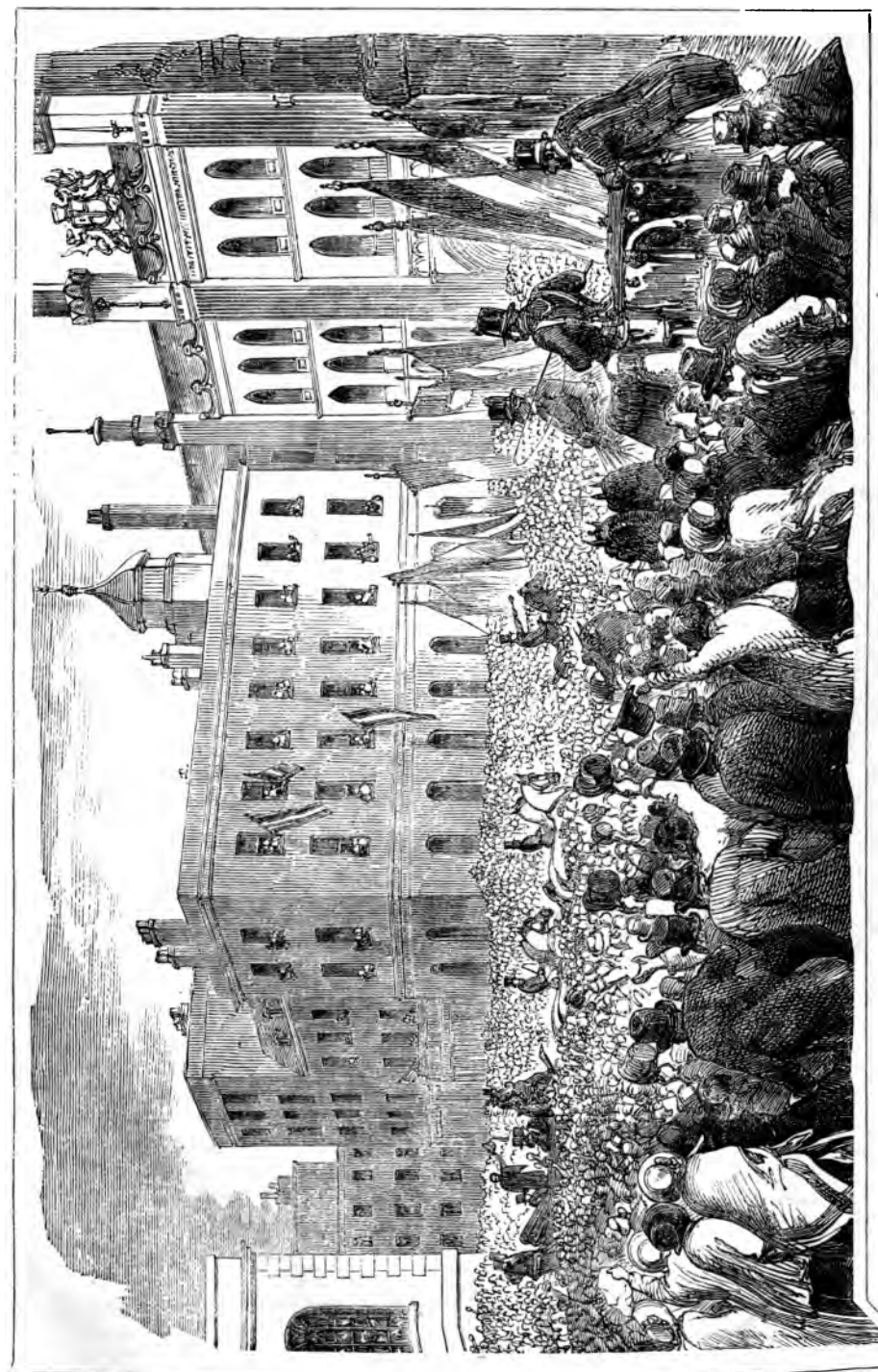
To me every occasion is valuable in which I can, by feeble words, and not by the power of eloquence—for you see I designedly employ no eloquence, but only a simple statement of facts and the sound logic of a common understanding—discuss the matters of my poor native land; and your generosity would enable me to do so still longer, but I suffer from a sick chest, and am not much capable of speaking without bad consequences, and therefore I beg leave to ask you to charge your glasses. (*Applause.*) It is to the future of my country that I devote the activity which I have regained by my liberty from the bondage in Asia; and this my liberation is, in the first place, due to the noble feelings of the Sultan, who, in spite of the arrogant threats of Russia and Austria, has protected my life and the life of my companions—who later yielded, but with sorrow, to the pressure of the circumstances which had forced him to surround his hospitality by detention—and who, at last, raising himself by the magnanimity of his inspirations, and his respect for the rights of humanity above all threats, restored me to liberty in the most dignified manner. But, expressing my grateful acknowledgments to Turkey, I may also return my deeply felt thanks for the magnanimous interference of the Governments of Great Britain and the United States of America in such a high and generous manner, supported by the public spirit of the people in both countries, and even sanctioned by the magnanimous resolution of Congress, in obtaining the liberation of myself and of my associates. It is, therefore, with the warmest feelings of a grateful heart, I propose the toast—"England, the United States, and Turkey."

This was M. Kossuth's second public speech at Southampton.

SPEECH AT THE GUILDHALL.

ON his arrival in London, he was besieged by invitations of all kinds. He took up his residence at the house of Mr. Massingberd, in Eaton-place. Thence on Thursday, the 30th of October, he set out, accompanied by Lord Dudley Stuart, and other friends, for the Guildhall of London. On his way he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers by the crowds that lined the great thoroughfares. At a little before one o'clock, he entered the Council Chamber, and took his place, next to the Lord Mayor, on the Aldermen's bench. M. Kossuth was suffering from a severe oppression of the chest, when, in reply to the City address of congratulation, he delivered the following speech:—

My Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the great and glorious city of London in Common Council assembled, I step into these halls overpowered with sentiments in respect to that honour which I was aware that it (the corporation) advanced me here, and overpowered by what I had seen in the streets of the great and glorious city of London, coming forth thousands and thousands after me, by no other motive but only to manifest the sympathy of the people of England for the principle of liberty. (*Hear, hear.*) That is a view, my Lord and Gentlemen, full of hope for the oppressed,—full of consolation for our down-trodden nation. (*Hear, hear.*) After having seen these manifestations here, I may be allowed to ask—who are those oppressors of the world that believe that the sympathy of the people of England will melt away in the breeze like the sigh of a girl? I hope, from the manly sense of the people of England, that this sympathy will be the trumpet-call for the liberation of the world. (*Hear.*) It is a proud moment of my life to have the high honour and the most important benefit to have this generous address, by which you, my Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, have pleased in such solemn manner, and in such generous words, to assure me that you have watched the past struggles of Hungary for freedom and independence which it was my destiny to lead—that you have watched



those struggles with deep interest—that you entertain warm wishes for the future of that noble cause which it was the object of those struggles to secure to my native land, and that you heartily congratulate me on my liberation from captivity, which heartfelt congratulation and accompanying generous welcome can of course only have reference to my regained activity, to be devoted to that noble cause, the past of which you honoured by your lively interest, and the future of which you insure by your wishes and sympathy. (*Hear, hear.*)

That being the character of the present solemnity, while I express my most sincere, my most fervent thanks, in the name of my nation, for my country as well as for myself, I beg leave to state that even were I ambitious to be willing to have a personal share out of the high honour of this solemn occasion (which I am not, having the only ambition not to know and not to feel any ambition whatever), still, were I ambitious, the character of this solemnity is so distinguished, that I must feel it my duty at once to abandon any personal sigh, and to entreat you to give me generous permission in expressing my gratitude at once to enter into that which I consider the real meaning of these demonstrations to be. Of course, I must again entreat and beg pardon for my bad language, as well as also that I will be in no way able to answer your expectations. (*Hear, hear.*) My past days have been very much occupied; my brains are filled with ideas, but I do not know how I can, how I will succeed to find words for them. (*Hear.*)

Now, as to the true meaning of the present demonstration—my opinion is that the corporation of the city of London, lawfully represented by its municipal authorities, could not have intended to bestow these words of honour to a man, but to a principle. Every side of the present demonstration is a principle. The corporation of the city of London is not an aggregation, on the present occasion, of men; but the corporation is a principle. (*Hear.*) Even the place where I have now the honour to bow before you, my Lord Mayor and gentlemen, even the place is a principle (*hear, hear*); and myself as well as my countrymen who surround me, faithful associates in our past struggles, present sufferings, and future hopes—even we are no men here; we are a principle. (*Hear, hear.*) This being the true nature of the case, I beg leave humbly to consider what is the place where I stand, who are those who bestow upon me the honour of this day, and what is the object of this demonstration. (*Hear.*) My Lord and Gentlemen, I have put the question to myself—what is the place where I have the honour to be?—London—the metropolis of England; London, the metropolis of the world. (*Cheers.*) That is no compliment, but the most serious truth; London is the metropolis of the world, because there is no place, no city in the world, which is so strongly and so intimately connected, in many respects, with the whole world as London is. (*Hear.*) There is scarcely any place—no country of course—the movement and the tranquillity, the present and the future of which, would not meet some interest here in London connected with it. London is the heart of the world, which, like that metropolis of the human constitution, cannot fail to partake a feeling of

the least impediment in the circulation at the remotest parts of the world. (*Cheers.*) It is the place to whose vibrating centre the most distant links carry back the tide of life. (*Hear hear.*) I believe no man in the world can charge me with the intention of making a compliment when I say London is the metropolis of the world. (*Hear, hear.*) London being the metropolis of the world, there is no place, no other city on the earth, which has such strong motives to feel extremely interested in the condition of foreign nations and the foreign affairs of this country. (*Hear.*) Having a due sentiment of what is due to England from me here, and what is convenient to me so long as I have the honour to enjoy the protection of English laws, which make the Hungarian free in touching the English soil—so long as I am upon the English soil, I will never interfere in the interior affairs of England. (*Cheers.*)

The fate of my country making one part of the foreign relations of England, perhaps I may be excused when I venture a single remark—that I believe every age has its necessities, and every position its conditions. At the present moment I confidently state that, among all the interior questions of England, there is not a single one which could outweigh in importance this question to the whole of England; and in regard to London, the metropolis of the world—to London, foreign affairs constitute a very question of life. (*Hear, hear.*) The city of London, aware of this position of being the metropolis of the world, and consequently aware of the necessity to watch attentively foreign affairs, and the condition of foreign countries, has bestowed the benefit and the honour to be attentive to the cause of freedom. In consequence of this attention, you bestowed your interest upon the past struggles of Hungary, because you saw our cause to be just, righteous, and in harmony with those mighty interests which are embodied in the city of London; and, therefore, you united with your interest for the past your wishes for the future. And here, my Lord Mayor and Gentlemen, you meet my first request. Let not these wishes, this sympathy, remain a barren word. You have the power to do so—give to oppressed humanity your helping hand. (*Cheers.*)

I cannot forbear, having spoken some words on the importance of foreign affairs, and especially in respect to the city of London, stating that I believe the time draws near when, for the whole world in the management of diplomacy, a radical change must take place. The basis of diplomacy has been secrecy; and there is the triumph of absolutism and the misfortune of a free people. I hope soon this will cease, and foreign affairs will be conducted by that power which must be the ruling one in a constitutional government—public opinion. (*Hear, hear.*) I scarcely can see how it is possible that this principle of the secrecy of diplomacy got ground, not in England only, but throughout the whole world, when a question of a single penny of the national property could not be disposed of without the consent of the people. (*Hear, hear.*) How are the interests of the country guarded and carried out in respect of these foreign affairs? There is a secrecy which would be dangerous to the interests of the country and to constitutional liberty to develop.

Not only that the people should not know how its interests are treated, but even after the time has passed they should be told, "The dinner has been prepared and eaten, and the people has nothing to do but to digest the consequences." (*"Hear, hear," and laughter.*) What is the principle of all evil in Europe? The encroaching spirit of Russia. (*Hear, hear.*) And by what power has Russia become so mighty? By its arms?—No; the arms of Russia are below those of many Powers. It has become almost omnipotent—at least very dangerous to liberty—by diplomatic intrigues. Now, against the secret intrigues of diplomacy there is no surer safeguard, or more powerful counteraction, than public opinion. (*Hear, hear.*) This must be opposed to intrigues, and intrigues are then of no weight in the destinies of humanity. (*Cheers.*) You will excuse me, my Lord and Gentlemen, for these hints (*hear, hear*); I hope the English people will feel the truth of these humble remarks, and that they will not be quite forgotten. (*Hear.*)

Besides, London being the metropolis of the world, I know London to be the seat of the constitutional Government and of the Parliament. Here again I meet a principle. I believe that London, being the seat of the constitutional Government and the free Legislature of Great Britain and Ireland, is more strongly than whatever other place in the world identified with the principle of free legislation, emancipating the whole world from arbitrary power; no place in the world can be so much interested in freedom as London. As in one family, as in one community, as in one country, things and affairs cannot be ruled in two different divergent directions—that is the destiny of mankind—so, ere long, one of the two ruling principles of the world must prevail, and one only; liberty and absolutism cannot much longer subsist together in the present state of development of the human mind and heart; it cannot remain so—one or other must vanish from the earth, and unity be brought to the destinies of the world. (*Hear, hear.*) Now, this principle of freedom can be established in different countries and different governments, according to the wants and wishes of different peoples and different nations; but the principle which can be the only basis of the moral dignity and material welfare—of the contentment and happiness of the world—is, under different forms of government, only the principle of freedom. That principle you have in the United States and in this country. (*Hear.*) Now permit me, my Lord and Gentlemen, to draw one consequence out of this principle. London, the metropolis of the world, the seat of constitutional government and free legislation—with which principle will it side? With absolutism or with freedom? (*Hear, hear.*) You gave your sympathy, you watched with liveliest interest the cause of Hungary in the past; if you thought it worthy to feel a lively interest in the cause of Hungary in the past, you gave your wishes for its future; now let me again ask, do not permit this lively interest and these wishes to be a barren sound. You have the power to help:—help! (*Cheers.*)

A principle which I meet here in this place is a principle of social order. Many people when they hear this word "social order," get

almost nervous and excited. There are many that misuse this sacred word as a blasphemy. They call social order absolutism; they call social order when humanity is put into a prison; they call social order the silence of the grave. (*Hear, hear.*) This 30th of October has presented to the world a spectacle which, once seen, I proudly proclaim that no Czars and Emperors of Austria have the right or can have the pretensions to speak more of social order. (*Hear, hear.*) Here is social order in London; and by whom watched? I had my thousands and thousands of the people rushing forward, not with effusion of blood, but with the warm enthusiasm of noble hearts (*cheers*), to cheer liberty and the principle of freedom in my poor humble self. (*Hear.*) And what is the safeguard of social order in this meeting of the people? I asked the attention of Lord Dudley Stuart: "Let us look how many policemen are present. I have seen four." (*Cheers.*) Such a scene, my Lord, for the Czars and the Emperors, and all men ambitious, who may be called Presidents, for they are all the same thing, no matter how called! (*Hear, hear.*) They would have had their twenty thousand bayonets, and I do not know how many open and secret spies; they would have safeguarded by arms and cannon, what? Social order? No. Against whom? Against foes and enemies of social order? No; against their own people. (*Hear, hear.*) The people are never averse to social order; it is the basis of security of person and property. It is blasphemy to say that people love disorder; but neither a single man, nor thousands, wish to be the tools of ambition. (*Hear, hear.*)

Now, having met here the principle of social order, permit me the question—What is, in the opinion of this illustrious corporation, the surest safeguard of social order? I believe the surest safeguard of it is that which this illustrious corporation have seen, have experienced to be successful in maintaining social order here in this mighty, immense city, which is an empire—mightier than an empire or a nation. And what is the safeguard of social order?—Liberty. (*Hear, hear.*) I was not so happy as to arrive in London soon enough to see that great meeting which London appointed to humanity—the Great Exhibition; but London is the greatest exhibition of all, and, should I need yet one spur to devote all my life and all my activity to that liberty which is capable to preserve, in so magnificent a manner, social order, in such an immense city as London, the contemplation of your social order, of your liberty, your demonstration to-day, would have given me the spur. I thank you for it. (*Cheers.*) You have marked, my Lord and Gentlemen, that we in Hungary have struggled for that very freedom which experience here in England has shown to be the surest safeguard of social order; therefore you gave your sympathy to our past—you give your sympathy to the present—you entertain wishes for the future of that cause, let me again entreat you in the name of the principle of social order, let not be barren this sympathy for Hungary—you have the power—help—help! (*Hear, hear.*)

A principle I meet is the principle of municipal institutions. London is almost the oldest, to be sure one of the oldest, municipal institutions on

the earth ; in every case it is older than the great glorious nation of England itself, because it derives its municipal institutions from the Roman times. Nations, empires have fallen ; mighty people have vanished from the surface of the earth ; a new world arose ; even here in England, dynasties passed ; religion, governments changed ; a revolution swept over England as a mighty storm ; a restoration came, which never in history lasts long ; and, after that had passed, the establishment of social order upon the principle of liberty for the people ; and, during all these immense changes, London stands ! Stands ?—no, it does not stand ; it has grown, during those changes, a giant ; itself an empire—more than an empire ; itself a nation—mightier than a nation. (*Hear, hear.*) Now, what is the keystone of all this ? The keystone is, in my opinion, that the existence of London is founded upon municipal institutions. (*Hear, hear.*) The principle of municipal institutions is crushed down on the continent of Europe everywhere ; it is swept away by the disease of centralisation. (*Great cheering.*) This centralisation is so propitious—to what ? To ambition, but not to liberty. (*Hear, hear.*) But chiefly on the continent of Europe the principle of municipal institutions is swept away by the principle of absolutism—by the propensity to centralisation and absolutism, for the two words are identical. What is absolutism ? It is the centralisation of power. That is the banner to the perjury of the house of Austria, and which banner it has obtained in so sacrilegious a manner through Hungary. That is the basis of Russia having assisted it. As long as Hungary was free, though continually encroached upon by the absolutist direction of the Austrian Government, still it continued to be for the existence of the house of Austria an immense benefit, because the very idea that Hungary has had municipal institutions was a check to Russia, that it could not get the Austrian dynasty into its hands. Hungary fallen, the power of Austria centralised, and Austria is no more than a mere tool of Russia. See the consequence of the crushing down of municipal institutions and centralisation. The house of Austria became a traitor to God, a traitor to humanity, only out of the wish to get rid of the check which the municipal institutions of Hungary had put before its absolutist direction. (*Hear, hear.*) What is the consequence of centralisation ? That Austria is in bondage, forced to be obedient to the Czar. (*Hear, hear.*) You, the metropolis of the world, strong in your municipal institutions, remembering to be attentive to the condition of foreign nations, have given your attention to the cause of Hungary. You have marked us to struggle for freedom and municipal institutions ; finding this in the struggle of Hungary, you have given your sympathy to our past, your wishes for our future ; then excuse me again for repeating the request that these wishes be not barren ; you have the power to help,—then help ! (*Hear, hear.*)

For the cause of Hungary I could go on for weeks to show how united, or at least in harmony, it is with those principles which you cherish and love, and which make your glory. (*Hear, hear.*) The next principle which I meet here is that of industry and trade. Nothing in the world can be in closer connexion with freedom than the development of industry and trade.

Absolutism has in its train, and must have in its train, everything contrary to liberty ; therefore it must always be opposed to the free intercourse of nations. It must be opposite even to the moderate protection of home industry, which some in other parts of the world consider to be a mere question of political economy. Absolutism is prohibitory ; it must be so, because it fears free trade and free commerce from political motives, because free trade and free commerce are founded upon the development of freedom, and are the most powerful lever of political rights. Now, let me ask what is the market which Austria gave to the industry of England ? No market at all. Hungary, even before our past struggles, has consumed cotton manufactures—not home fabrication, foreign fabrication—Austrian fabrication—at an average from 67,000,000*f.* to 70,000,000*f.* a-year—about 2,600,000*l.* How much place occupied in this important consumption the industry of England ? Not 5*s.* (*Hear, hear.*) And why not ? Because the principle of absolutism of Austria, of course in strong harmony with the prohibitory principle, managed matters so as to oblige Hungary to buy these manufactured articles, not there where she could get them for the cheapest price and in the best manner, but in Austria, in order to drain millions out of Hungary for the benefit of Austria—an absolutist Power ; for Hungary was obliged to pay for cotton manufactures, which here in England can be bought for 8*l.* or 9*l.*, 20*l.* or 22*l.*, because of the importation taxes. Therefore in this great market England almost, if not quite, in an open loyal manner, has not partaken 5*s.* ; not to speak of smuggling. What is the market of Russia for English manufactures ? If not by smuggling, very small, very insignificant. Here you see the direction of absolutism.

Now see the direction of freedom, of liberty, which I have the honour to represent for my country. The very day when Hungary proclaimed its independence, and intrusted me to be the chief, the Governor of my ill-fated country, my first deed was to send instructions to my representatives in England to make known to the English Government that the barriers of Hungary had fallen, and that Hungary was open to the industry of England. (*Hear, hear.*) It is not my fault that very little profit was made out of it. (*Hear.*) I have proved the direction of freedom in respect to industry and trade. (*Hear, hear.*) Now, my Lord and Gentlemen, only to think for a single moment that as the Russian principle triumphs over the continent, and it is said the Czar has put his foot upon Hungary's neck, and this step was only a degree to that immense preponderance it has on the continent—only think for a single moment, as the Russian and Austrian principle of absolutism triumphs on the continent, what must the consequence be for the industry and trade of England ? A new continent like that of Bonaparte, on absolutist, because prohibitory principles. It will stop, it must stop, as, through the liberty of English commerce, the triumph of absolutism would meet again and again a principle, the shock of which absolutism cannot stand. Only think of such a triumph of absolutism, of such a stoppage on the continent to the trade and industry of England ! Look at the terrible consequences of such a triumph of absolutist principles, to stop the trade

of England, only for a short period. You would have to go to war against the world; you must. You must send your fleets, as your forefathers did, to protect the interests of England. You would spend millions, and torrents of blood, to get freedom for the trade, for the industry of England; or else England, or else London, now the fairest spot on earth, now the place where only exists social order, not by terrorism, but by liberty, this glorious place would inevitably decline. (*Hear, hear.*)

But you have not to spend money, blood, to insure this harmony, this connexion of the welfare of the world with the industry of England; there is an open, an immense market, for the industry of England at your very doors, with Europe free. We have struggled in Hungary for that freedom; for the principle connected with freedom, of free trade, and the free intercourse of nations. Hungary, restored to its independence and its liberty, is equal to proclaiming to the world that the principle of absolutism is crushed on the continent; and, were this principle crushed, there is no impediment any more to the free intercourse of nations. You have seen we struggled for that principle; you have given your sympathy for the past, your wishes for the future; let me repeat, let them not remain barren. (*Hear, hear.*) Perhaps I tire you. ("No, no!")

The sixth principle which I meet here, in this place, is the financial. My Lord and Gentlemen, London is the regulator of the public credit and of the money-market of the world. These few words spoken to you suffice to state the immense importance of this principle. Well, if London is the regulator of the public credit of the world, and if a very considerable quantity of the loan shares of every Government in the world are concentrated here in London, let me ask where is the security of those loans?—where is the possibility to see paid the money under the Governments of the world? (*Hear, hear.*) Is the security in the victory of absolutist principle, or is it in the victory of the principle of freedom? (*Hear, hear.*) Take despotic Governments: what is their basis of existence? Is it the love of the nations? Oh, how could the principle of despotism be love? Love in such case is a contradiction to our nature. (*Hear, hear.*) Is perhaps the basis of the absolutist Governments contentment of the nations? How can men be contented without freedom? (*Hear, hear.*) What is the complexion of the principle of absolutism? It can be marked out in a few plain words,—“People, pay; because I want soldiers and spies, and to be your illimitable master.” How could the principle of these nations be contentment? Therefore, what is the basis of their existence? Immense costly armies, and not less costly diplomatic intrigues. The sweat of the people cannot suffice to provide for all these necessities; not for the welfare, not for the happiness of the nations, but to keep them in servitude. Therefore, the absolutist Governments must come again and again to the money-markets to get some loans. Every new loan, in whatever unproductive manner applied, diminishes the resources out of which it should be paid; and when the same goes on again and again, who could take the guarantee upon himself

for the nations of the world with these eternal loans, employed, not for their benefit, but against their benefit, and against their liberty?—who could take the guarantee upon him that, once these nations groaning under their material sufferings, will not say, “Let him pay who has made the debt; we made it not!” Here is the prospect which absolutist principles point out in that respect. But there is a prospect, especially to the house of Austria. That prospect is inevitable bankruptcy! You know how it is where a Government has often need to make loans, and where it is in necessity to make, for instance, now a new loan of 8,000,000*l.*, for the purpose of restoring the balance of the financial system in Austria. Oh, no; only to get through three or four months, and then to get a new loan; the interest of these new loans has to be added to the expenditure of the Government. Men without any enthusiasm, earnestly pondering this state of the house of Austria, must confess that the very early prospect, unless averted by restored liberty, is bankruptcy. (*Hear, hear.*)

Now I will beg leave to state to you, in a very few words, what prospect is presented to the financial principle by the freedom and liberty of the world. Since I left Kutayah, I had occasion to stop for a short time in different parts of Europe, on the shores of Italy, in France, in Lisbon. I had the honour to meet the free offerings of a most noble sympathy; the most cheering welcome everywhere. Why? Because I am taken for the humble representative of the principle of freedom. And why am I so taken? Is it perhaps to make a compliment to this my miserable frame, broken by labour and anxieties? No; I am taken as the representative of the principle of freedom for my past. And what is my past? My past is, that I have undertaken to give political and social freedom to the whole people; to make free their soil, free their labour, free their trade, but in the same time to spare, and not to hurt, but to protect every existing material interest of every class. (*Hear, hear.*) Here you have, my Lord and Gentlemen, the key of that confidence and of that love which my people bore, and bear still, to me. Here is the key to the unity of Hungary, in the principle which I have the honour to represent,—freedom to all, but no injury to the material interests of any. Therefore I met sympathy everywhere, because I have imparted this direction to the struggles of Hungary; I got not only the confidence of my people, but the sympathy of the world. I pledged my honour and my word to be faithful to this direction all my life; and so may God bless me as I will, if only those whose material interests I undertook to protect and to spare will not deprive me themselves of the possibility to do so. (*Cheers.*)

Now, when the nations of Europe see that whenever a despot wants means to oppress humanity he finds ever and again money, what must be the consequences? I am no capitalist (*a laugh*); I never was, and never shall be; I am a poor man, and content with my station; but, were I capitalist, I would very much consider these circumstances—I would very much consider if there is possibility to the lasting triumph to absolutism, or if freedom must not have a future; and, considering these circum-

stances, I would rather give confidence to that principle which is pointed out to be the destiny of mankind by God himself. I would bend with my sympathy towards that class which, by that sentiment to spare every material interest, will, of course, seeing the *rapprochement* of the material interests of the world to the principle of freedom, give full security to it to pay the debts the Governments have made. But when the nations of the world see that the money of the world is lent to oppressors, and identified again and again with the principle of absolutism, I do not know what the consequence will be. (*Hear, hear.*) I believe, with these few words, I have proved that the principle of security to financial interests is not in absolutism, but in the victory of the principle of liberty in Europe. This you have seen in Hungary, having bestowed your attention to our struggles. You have seen Hungary struggling under me for liberty—struggles not to injure anyone; to have the blessing of all, but not the curse of a single man. You have given your interest to our past, your wishes for our future; let me again entreat you, let not the sentiment of London pass as a barren sound; you have the power—help! (*Hear, hear.*)

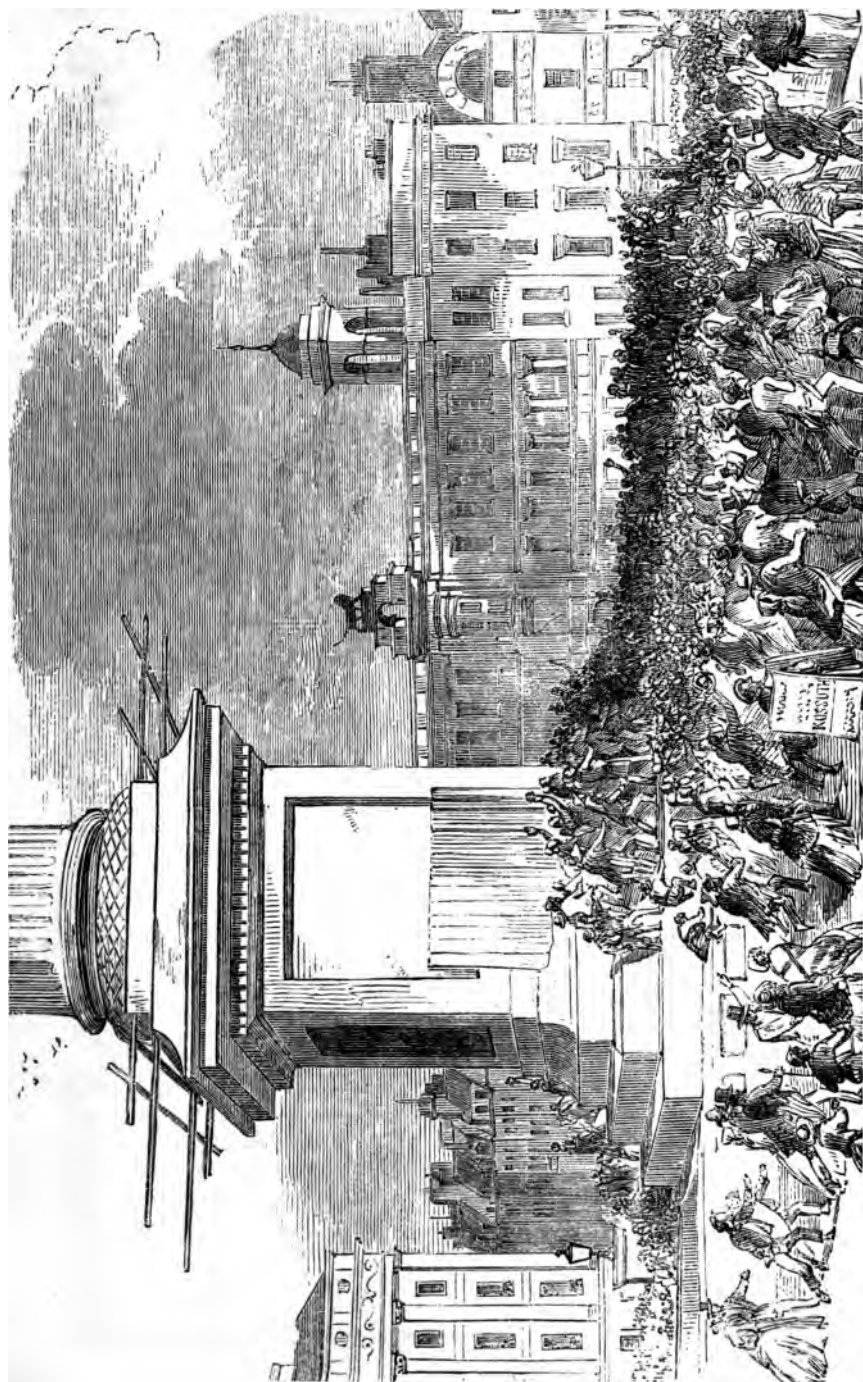
The seventh principle which I meet is the consolidated peace of Europe. Such a city as London, with such immense industry and trade, wants the consolidated peace of Europe. Now, I think you will see the peace of world is only possible when the nations of the world will be contented. The contentment of the nations is such a tree as only in the garden of liberty grows. (*Hear, hear.*) So long as the nations of Europe shall not be free, so long there cannot be peace in Europe, because that would not be peace, but a prison, and this fair world was not created by God to be a prison to humanity, (*hear, hear,*) neither is it created for the gaoler's sake. (*Cheers.*) It is not long ago that a great association—the Peace Society—had a meeting here in London; humanity greets the existence of that society with hope. We will have peace, but a lasting and true peace, and not oppression, slavery. Now, this association has proclaimed the principle of non-intervention. Could there be found a single man in the world to give such an interpretation to this principle of non-interference, that whatever the Czar of Russia, or his satellite Hapsburg, should do with mankind and humanity, England would not care for it? This is not non-interference; this is a letter of marque given to the Czar to become the master of the world. (*Hear, hear.*) The principle of non-interference proclaimed even by the Peace Association has this meaning:—Every nation is free to dispose of its domestic concerns according as it is willing, and England should not interfere, and no foreign Power should dare to interfere, with this sovereign right of the nation. Oppressed humanity expects England to execute and safeguard this divine principle. Oppressed humanity expects, in the name of all those mighty principles I have had the honour to mention, London to take a lead in the direction of public opinion. (*Hear, hear.*) And so, my Lord and Gentlemen, I could go on in the enumeration of the principles which I meet here, were I not even so exhausted as you are tired.

Still, one more permit me to mention; it is the principle of generous

humanity. England is the only spot in Europe which is an asylum to those who are oppressed; London ever generously partakes in that glory of England, and you, my Lord, and the corporation of the city of London, even now gloriously represented the allotting to the generous undertaking of the noble Lord (Lord D. Stuart), whom I long ago already am accustomed to call the father of the unfortunate (*hear*),—allotting to his undertaking in behalf of homeless exiles these noble apartments, these glorious halls. (*Hear.*) Permit me to express for this token of your generous sympathy my warmest thanks. May the freedom of the world soon release you from those cares! (*Hear, hear.*) I hope it soon will. (*Hear.*) But, in the meantime, I wish may never an Englishman be found adding the thorn of humiliation to the bitterness of the bread of the poor unfortunate exile. (*Hear, hear.*)

My Lord and Gentlemen, in stating the principles of the place where I have the honour to stand, I stated at the same time the principles which you represent. I see spreading before my eyes the immense history of the municipality of London—the most glorious, the most instructive topic to men like me. (*Hear, hear.*) But this you know, being the inheritors of this glory and of this history. So I will only state that you, my Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, being the lawful representation of the city of London, are altogether the incorporation, the lawful incorporation, of all those principles which I had the honour to enumerate. Such are you, before whom I in my humble quality represent that noble cause of Hungary, the past struggles of which you honoured by your sympathy, and for the future of which you express your generous wishes. I have often repeated during my tiresome speech the humble request, let your sympathies and your wishes not remain barren. (*Hear, hear.*) Now, again, I repeat it the more, because this practical direction which I wish to see imparted to the noble sentiments of the people of England is in the most intimate connexion with the principle of freedom, the principle of lasting social order, the principle of municipal institutions, with the principle of industry and trade, with the principle of public credit, with the principle of the possibility of the peace of the world, and with the principle of humanity.

As to the practical result to which oppressed humanity, and especially my poor country, looks forward with manly resolution, with unshaken courage, and with hope, I will but repeat that which I elsewhere already have said. When I declared—“Let not remain barren your sympathy; help us to carry that noble cause to a happy issue; you have the power to help,”—when I spoke that, I intended not to ask England to take up arms for the restoration of Hungary to its independence and liberties. No, gentlemen, that is the affair of Hungary itself; we will provide for our own freedom. (*Hear, hear.*) All I wish is, that the public opinion of England may establish it to be a ruling principle of the politics of Europe to acknowledge the right of every nation to dispose of its own internal concerns, and not to give a charter to the Czar to dispose of the fate of nations (*cheers*), and so not to allow the interference of Russia in



M. KOSSUTH ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE AT CHARING CROSS.

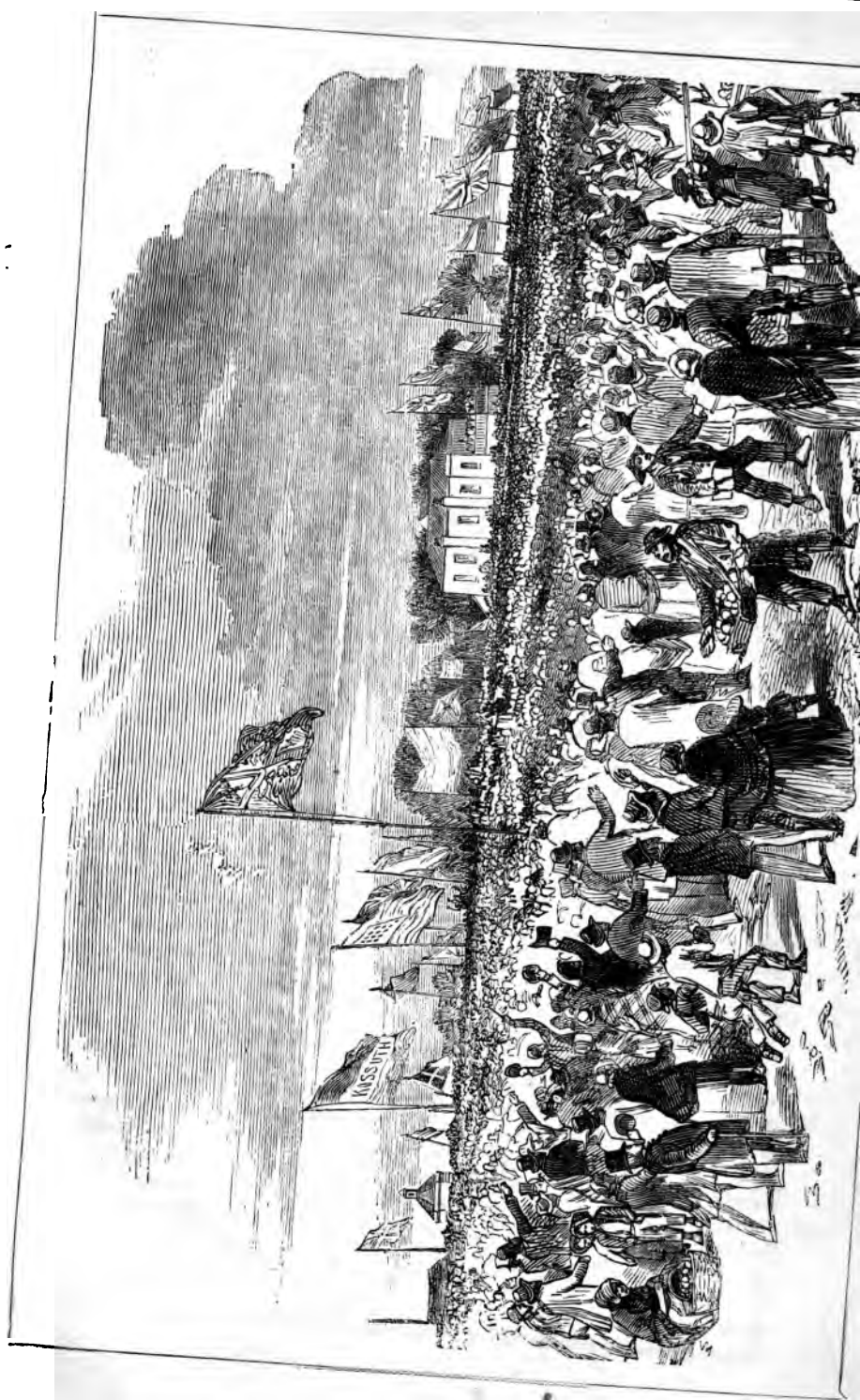
the domestic concerns either of Hungary, or of whatever other nations on the continent (*hear, hear*), because the principles of freedom are in harmony, and I love—I am interested in—the freedom of all other countries as well as of my own. (*Hear, hear.*)

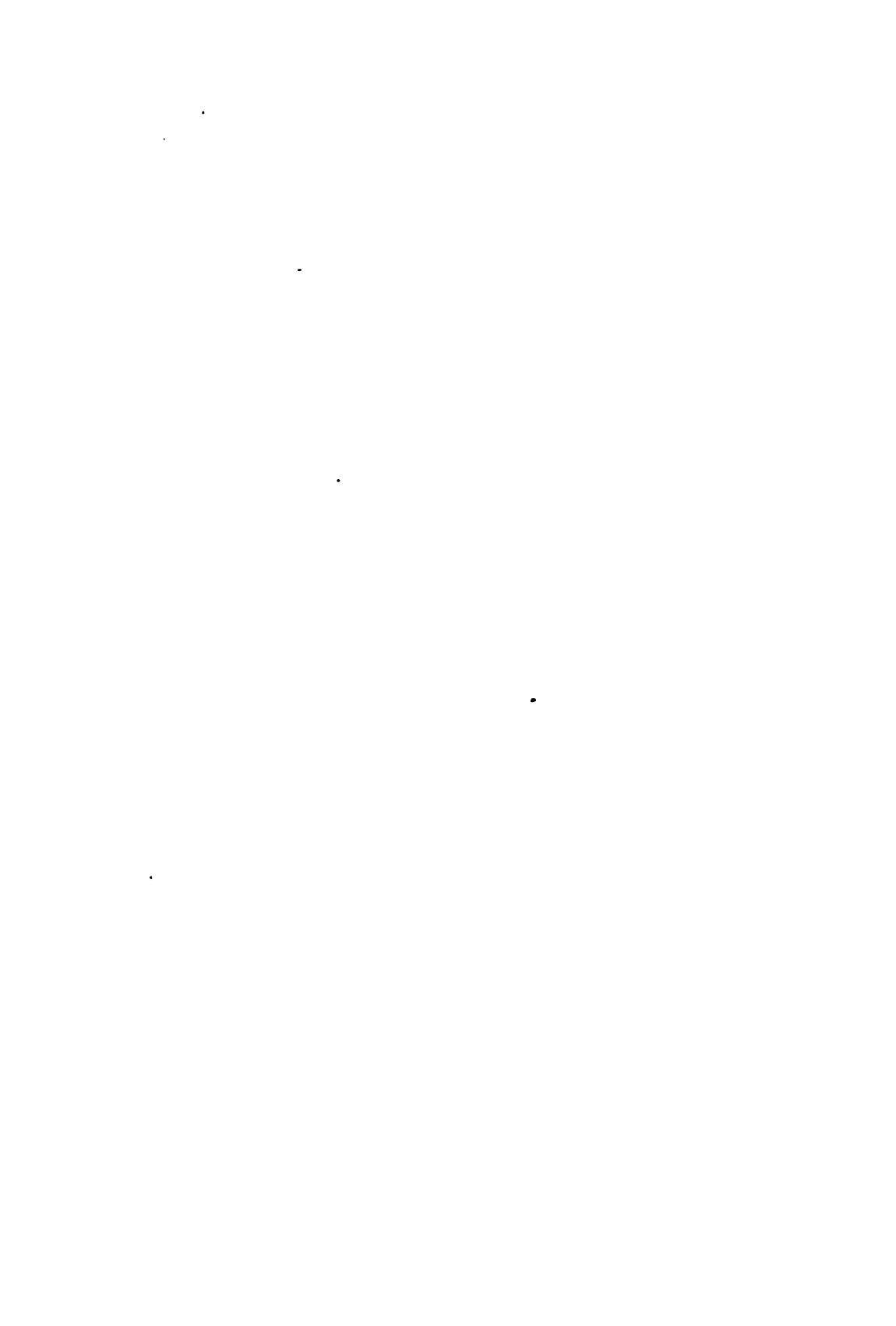
My Lord and Gentlemen, these are the words which I again and again will repeat here in England, and there in the United States, from a most honoured member of which I have had the honour to hear principles which, quite once carried into effect, would and will give liberty to the world. I have heard it proclaimed from an honoured citizen of the United States, the honoured object of the sympathy and confidence of a great part of his countrymen, even a candidate to become the chief magistrate of the United States—I have heard, in answer to my appeal, declare that he believes the younger brother of the English race very heartily will give his hand to England to protect oppressed nations, not admitting interference with their domestic affairs. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, I will again and again repeat to you these words; I will repeat them with the faith of those martyrs of old, which has moved the hills and the mountains; I will concentrate all the fire of my sentiments, all the blood of my heart, all the energy of my mind, to raise these words high and loud, deep and solemn, till the almighty echo of the public opinion in repeating it becomes like the thundering trumpet before the sound of which the “Jericho” of human oppression falls;—and, should this feeble frame succumb sooner,—should it succumb to the longing of my heart to see my fatherland independent and free, which longing beats everlasting in my feeble frame, as the captive lion beats his iron cage—even the grass which will grow out of my grave will cry out to Heaven and to man, “England and America! do not forget in your proud security those who are oppressed. Do not grant a charter to the Czar to dispose of humanity. Do not grant a charter to the despots to drown liberty in Europe’s blood. Save the myriads who else would, and will bleed; and, by not granting this charter, be the liberators of the world! (*Cheers.*)

SPEECH AT COPENHAGEN-HOUSE.

ON the second day after his landing at Southampton, M. Kossuth accepted the invitation of a London committee, representing the Trades Unions, to receive an address from them at Copenhagen-House, on Monday, the 3rd of November. Accordingly, on that day, about twelve thousand working men assembled in Russell-square, headed by banners, and marched in procession to Copenhagen-House, where they found M. Kossuth already arrived. Temporary hustings had been erected in front of the house; and M. Kossuth, attended by the Chairman of the Central Committee, made his appearance before the vast crowd assembled round them, variously estimated from twenty-five to one hundred thousand persons, at three o'clock, when he delivered the following speech:—

GENTLEMEN,—I most warmly thank you for your generous sentiments of active and operative sympathy with the freedom and independence of my native land, so closely connected—as you have rightly judged—with the freedom and independence of other nations on the European continent. (*Cheers.*) It is to me highly gratifying to know that a large party of the present meeting belongs to the working classes. (*Cheers.*) It is gratifying to me, because, if to belong to the working classes implies a man whose livelihood depends on his own honest and industrious labour, then none among you has more right to call himself a working man than I so to call myself. I inherited nothing from my dear father, and I have lived my whole life by my own honest and industrious labour. (*Cheers.*) This my condition I consider to have been my first claim to my people's confidence, because well they knew that, being in that condition, I must intimately know the wants, the sufferings, and the necessities of the people. And so assuredly it was. It is therefore that I so practically devoted my life to procure and to secure political and social freedom to my people, not to a race, not to a class, but to the whole people; besides, I devoted all my life for many years, by the practical means of associations, to extend the benefit of public instruction to the working classes,





and to forward the material welfare of the agriculturists, of the manufacturers, and of the trading men. (*Cheers.*)

Among all the enterprises to that effect of that time of my life, when I was yet in no public office, but a private man, there is none to which I look back with more satisfaction and pride than to the association for the encouragement of manufacturing industry—to its free schools, to its exhibitions, to its press, and to its affiliations. Besides conferring immense material benefits, it proved also politically beneficial by bringing in closer contact and more friendly relations the different classes of my dear native land, by interesting the working classes in the public political concerns of our nation, and by so developing a strongly united public opinion to support me in my chief aim, which was conserving the municipal and constitutional institutions of my country—to substitute for the privileges of single classes the political emancipation of the whole world, and substituting freedom to class privileges—to impart to the people the faculty of making the constitution a common benefit to all—for all—in a word, to transform the closed hall of class privileges into an open temple of the people's liberty. (*Loud cheers.*)

This being my early connexion with the working classes, I had at Southampton already occasion to say, that among all the generous testimonials of English sympathy which honour me and my nation's past struggles; which console our present sufferings and assure our future; there is none dearer to my heart than when I see that those classes, whose only capital is their honest labour and their time, stop in their work and sacrifice that valuable time for the purpose, openly and resolutely, of expressing that the great principles of freedom can reckon upon the sympathies, the co-operation, and the support of the people of England. (*Cheers.*) In the streets of London, a few days ago, and here on the present occasion, this great phenomenon presents itself on a still larger scale, in a still higher degree: the more it is therefore gratifying to me, and consoling to my country, the more have I the pleasurable duty to acknowledge the high value of it, and to thank you the more fervently for it. I said at Southampton that in these demonstrations of the operative classes I recognise that natural instinct of the people, before which every individual greatness must bow down with respect. (*Cheers.*) The same acknowledgment I have to make on this occasion, only on a larger scale, and in a higher degree.

Allow me, firstly, to congratulate you on the attention which you have hereby proved that you devote to public matters and to the interests of your country as well as to the freedom and glory of humanity. May this public spirit never decrease; may every Englishman for ever feel that it is the basis of all constitutional organisation, be it under a republican or a monarchical form; that it is the public opinion of the people which must give direction to the policy of the country, and that it is, therefore, not only the right, but also the duty, of every honest citizen to contribute to the development and expression of that public opinion, of which the legislative as well as the executive authorities are, and must be, faithful representatives.

Allow me, secondly, to congratulate you on the just and happy instinct with which, bestowing your attention on public concerns, you have seized the very point which really is the most important among all in which the mind and heart of Englishmen can be interested. That point is the freedom of the European continent. I said it in the Common Council of the city of London, I repeat it here ; there is none among your internal questions which outweighs in importance the external. (*Cheers.*) And how may be summed up the external interests of the British Empire on the European continent ? It is to be summed up in this question—by which principle shall the continent of Europe be ruled, by the principle of freedom or by the principle of absolutism ? Can England, or can it not, remain indifferent to the approaching struggle and final decision of this question ? And, if it cannot remain indifferent without losing its position in the world, endangering its own freedom, and hurting its own interests, with which principle shall England side—with the principle of freedom or with the principle of aggression ? Shall it support the rights, freedom, and happiness of nations or the oppressive combinations of arbitrary Governments ? (*Cheers.*) That is the question—a question the more urgent and the more important that (*i. e.*, because) no man, of whatsoever party, can dissimulate, still less deny, that the situation of France, of Italy, of Germany, of Austria, of Hungary, of Poland, and of Russia is so unnatural, so contrary to the human and national interests of the respective people, that it is utterly impossible it can endure. Yes, no man can dissimulate the conviction that France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Hungary are already on the eve of those days when the great, and I hope final battle of these adverse principles, will be fought out. (*Loud cheers.*)

Now, the people of Great Britain, by its loudly proclaimed sympathy with the cause of freedom and independence of Hungary, has pronounced itself willing not to remain indifferent, and to side not with absolutism but with liberty, by supporting and protecting against all interference of foreign governments the sovereign right of every nation to dispose of itself. You yourself have pronounced by this demonstration and by your generous address in favour of this principle ; so, thanking you most fervently for it, I beg leave to congratulate you on the sound judgment and on the comprehensive views you give, and that you entertain, on the duties of England towards Europe, and on the proper interests of England itself. You have rightfully considered that the freedom of England, and that happy condition which you feel assured that your institutions, your freedom, and your public spirit, will go on peacefully developing—morally, materially, and politically—that all this is intimately connected with the victory of the principle of freedom on the European continent. In a word, you have pronounced for that truth I, since in England, on no occasion have omitted to express, *viz.*, that there is a community in the principle of freedom as there is an identity in the destinies of humanity. (*Loud cheers.*) Besides, you have duly considered that the material welfare of Great Britain is also in the highest degree dependent on, and connected with, the victory of the principle of freedom in Europe. And truly it is so.

On several occasions I have discussed already this important topic, and will do so more amply yet on another occasion. Here I beg only leave to state briefly a few plain facts. You live by honest labour. You have your manufactured products to dispose of, for which you want large free markets and free trade. (*Great cheering.*) Now, it is as obvious as that two and two make four, that without Europe becoming free, England can have no free trade with Europe. I will show you, by stating the facts, that the amount of trade with absolutist Russia is *7d.* per head, whereas the amount of the trade of England with a free country,—with the republic of the United States of America,—is *7s.* per head. What a difference! Absolutism gives to your trade and industry a market of *7d.* per head, freedom gives a market of *7s.* per head! (*Loud cheers.*) Is not the freedom of England, then, a question of vital interest to you? Let us look to consequences. Suppose the price of the bread which one of you consumes, to be three or four pounds; upon this price you have, by the repeal of the Corn Laws, probably not gained more than from *15s.* to *1l.* Certainly a great benefit. But suppose the one hundred and twenty millions who inhabit Russia, Austria, Italy, and Hungary, to become free, and being free, to consume as much of your manufactures as the United States (though, in part, highly manufacturing themselves) consume per head; that would give a market of at least *60,000,000l.* sterling to England, which would prove a benefit of *2l.* or *3l.* a-year per head to you.

I will not, with my aching chest, dwell further upon this subject now, but will cheerfully acknowledge that you were animated in this noble demonstration by higher motives—by such generous sentiments as betoken the noblest feelings, and by that moral dignity of man which is the revelation of mankind's Divine origin. You say, in your kind address, that it is the brotherhood of the people in which rests the hope of civilisation, of our progress in the peaceful arts, and of the free development of man's noblest faculties. Now, these are noble sentiments told in noble words. I thank you that you have expressed so nobly what I feel so warmly. It is my heartfelt creed. You say that in the brotherhood of people is the certainty of success of resisting the encroachments of despotic power. Truly, it is so; that the interference of Russia in Hungary, of the French Government in Rome, of Austria in Romagna and Schleswig-Holstein, and of Austria and Russia in Hesse Cassel, which made only the most loyal, the most moderate, the most lawful opposition to the absolutist encroachments of its petty tyrant, and yet was crushed by Austro-Russian arms—take all this together, and the fact is clear that the despotisms are leagued against the freedom of the world so that there is no hope against them but in the brotherhood of people headed and protected by England and the United States of America, by uniting in the principle of acknowledgment of the natural rights of every nation to dispose of itself, and uniting in the principle not to admit any interference of whatever foreign Power in the domestic concerns of whatever nation against its own will. (*Loud cheers.*)

By taking such a view of the brotherhood of people you are the inter-

preters of my most warm desires, and by assuring me to hope and to be resolved for the future, that Russian intervention in the domestic concerns of whatever country shall by England not be permitted more. (*Loud cheers.*) By this you have anticipated all that I, in my humble quality of a representative of the principles of freedom, in the name of my country, and in the interests of all oppressed nations, have again and again entreated from the people of England since I have been here. And here I meet again another noble idea of your address, where you say that the name of my country is linked in your prayers and in your hopes with the name of other nations. Bless you for that word! You ennoble my name and my country's by it. Yet you speak truth. The very moment that Russia first interfered in Hungary our struggles grew to an European height; we struggled no more for our own freedom, our own independence, but altogether for the freedom and independence of the European continent. Our cause became the cause of mankind. My nation became the martyr of the cause of European freedom in the past; of other nations it will be the faithful champion of that freedom for the future. I, for my own humble part, whom my people and the public opinion of the world took for the personification of my people's sentiments, I knew where my place is. I know what duties are entailed upon me. I shall insure the sympathies of England by my devotion to my country's European cause. England will find me faithful to that place and to those duties which my people's confidence having assigned to me, foreign violence could hinder me from exercising, but whose legitimate character no violence could destroy. Let me also hope that, while Hungary and I are aware of the solidarity of our cause with the cause of European freedom and independence, and while Hungary is resolved to stand manfully in its place, the other nations, and England itself, will not forget that the freedom and independence of Hungary are indispensable to the independence of Europe against Russian encroachment and preponderance, and so neither the other European nations nor England will allow Russia again to interfere in order to uphold that detested house of Hapsburg, with which, eternally alienated, Hungary will never, through time, have any transaction, unless to ban it, expulse it, or to hurl it in the dust. (*Loud cheers.*)

Among the nations linked to my country in your hopes and prayers, your address especially names France, Poland, Germany, and Italy. To be sure there are some of those events which may be scented already in the air. As to France, my sentiments are known—I have declared them openly. (*Loud cheers.*) I will be true to those sentiments; and can only add, that it is a highly important step in mankind's destiny to see brotherly love between nations so substituted for the unhappy rivalries of old as to elicit in England also such brotherly welcome to the French as was seen at the late Great Exhibition, and to elicit such sentiments in England. And so certainly it should ever be. The French nation is great enough for the pulsation of its heart to be, and to have been always felt over the greatest part of the European continent. Till now it is true that the expectations have never been realised which Europe's oppressed

nations had in France, but it must be remembered that the French nation has fallen short in the realisation of its own domestic hopes also. It would, therefore, be unjust to make a reproach of that which was a misfortune, which they themselves deplore most deeply. I attribute their mischance to the unfortunate propensity to centralisation which the French nation during all its trials conserved—centralisation, which leads ever to the oppression of liberty—centralisation, with which the guarantees of liberty rest rather upon personalities than upon principles. And when an omnipotence of power is centred, be it in one man or in one assembly, that man must be a Washington, or that assembly be composed of Washingtons, not to become ambitious, and, through ambition, dangerous to liberty. Now, Washingtons are not so thickly sown as to be gathered up everywhere for the reaping. (*Hear, hear.*) I would, however, solemnly protest, should whatever nation attempt to meddle in the domestic concerns of my fatherland; so, of course, I cannot have the arrogant pretension of mixing with the domestic concerns of whatever other nation, and, least of all, of the great French nation, which is powerful enough to come at last triumphantly out of its trials and sufferings. I have only the warm wish and hope that the glorious French nation will soon succeed in making, that which is now but a name, the Republic (*great cheering*), a reality, and will succeed soon to achieve that work so as to see upon the basis of common liberty established the contentment of the people, and, secured by that contentment, a lasting social order, which cannot fail to be secured when it is founded upon liberty, but which, without liberty, is impossible; and, secondly, I hope that the great French nation, in case it realises the name which it bears, will not forget that it is to her, to England, and to the United States, to check the encroaching spirit of absolutism wherever it should dare to threaten the independence of nations and their right to dispose of themselves. That is what oppressed humanity expects from the French Republic, as well as from England and the United States.

As for Poland, that sad martyr to the most sacrilegious of ambitions, it is enough to say that Poland and Hungary are neighbours and have a common enemy. (*Hear, hear.*) Though it is utterly false to call our past struggles a Polish conspiracy, still I can own loudly, in the name of my country, that there is no people on the earth which could feel more interested in the future of Poland than the Magyars. We feel, also, highly gratified to see ourselves united in your prayers and hopes with Germany. We are kindred in sufferings, united in hopes, united in your sympathies. Germany and Hungary must feel united in aim and in design.

Now, as to Italy—Italy, in so many respects dear to my heart,—I will not dwell upon its terrible woes; they are known and appreciated through the world, and elicited, even in those quarters where it was least expected, the strongest indignation of generous men; proving that questions of humanity can, in England, be no party question. (*Cheers.*) I will not dwell upon the horrors of Naples, out of which even your Government publicly foretold that a revolution must arise. I will not dwell upon the scaffold which Radetzky reared 3742 times in three short years in

Lombardy. I will not dwell upon the just hatred of Venice, nor upon the intolerable humiliation and nameless sufferings of Rome. I will only say that it is not even possible to imagine a stronger identity of interests between two nations than that existing between Hungary and Italy. The freedom and independence of these two nations have the same enemies. They are like two wings of a single army ranged against one enemy; the victory of one wing is a victory to the other; the defeat of one a misfortune to the other. One cannot become independent and free without the other also becoming so, else there would be no security to their freedom and independence. So it is not even possible to imagine a stronger link of brotherhood than that which between the two nations, needs must exist. I confidently believe that this imperious necessity must be equally felt on both sides, and that both nations must be penetrated by the conviction of it as strongly as myself—the more because there is a happy incident which must further strengthen the harmony, hopes, feelings, and wishes between Hungary and Italy. I will tell it to you. There are new doctrines agitated in certain countries, which—by what right it is not mine to investigate—are considered by many to be incompatible with social order, and with the principle of security of property. Now, Hungary has and will have with these doctrines nothing to do, for the most simple and more decisive reason, because in Hungary there is no occasion, there is not the slightest opportunity for them. We have not the disease, so we want no medical speculations about the remedy. We want freedom and independence, and we will be rescued from the evil—the Austrian dynasty. But we want no theoretical speculations about property; we want them as little as the citizens of the United States, whose institutions we wish to have established in our country, with the difference that Hungary is and will not be divided in States, but will be one country, composed of free municipalities.

And I am confidently assured that all this is the very case also with Italy. Italy has also no occasion to share those doctrines; therefore, neither its people nor its popular leaders have whatever to do with them; and I am, therefore, glad by my own feelings to know that this happy coincidence of circumstances can only strengthen the harmony, brotherly love, and union which between these two nations must exist, in consequence of the identity of their interests. So, in response to your wishes, hopes, and sympathies, I will only say, that my restoration to personal freedom I value chiefly on account of seeing myself restored to activity and to my country's service. I have the full conviction of my country's freedom and independence being intimately identified with the freedom and independence of Europe, and even with some very important interests of England itself. Resolutely I accept in my position all duties, as well as all dangers, of this persuasion; and my country, as well as all other peoples who share this identity, will always find me faithful to them. I wish only to see them having some confidence not only in my frankness but also to my mind, which, though feeble in faculties will for ever conserve the merit of unwavering consistency and of disinterested resignation. (*Cheers.*)

I unite with you unchangeably in the fraternal sentiments which you express in this, your address, towards Turkey, and I decidedly declare that I never will join any combination, however promising, which might do that country injury. I will rather promote its interests, fully aware that Turkey is not in contradiction with the interests of Europe, as the Czar and the Hapsburgs are, but rather in several respects necessary to Europe, and chiefly to England and to Hungary. Turkey is a neighbouring country to my fatherland. We have enemies enough. I am no impractical theorist, to make of a neighbour a new enemy, instead of respecting his interests, but would have him, if not an ally, at least a friend for his own interest's sake.

As to the glorious Republic of the United States, which has thrown its protecting flag around me, let me hope that the common sympathy which these two kindred nations, England and the United States, bear to the cause of my country and to myself, will be the first link of a closer union of the politics of the two countries in respect to Europe; which union, convenient as it is to both your great, glorious, and free countries, would make a happy turning point in the destinies of humanity. I should not have lived in vain, should I have lived to be the opportunity of such a consummation.

And here I would not, were it not my duty to reflect upon certain circumstances which I consider so extraordinary as to feel obliged to avail myself of this first opportunity which offers itself to meet openly. The circumstance is, that I considered, and consider it still, to be my duty not to mix with any great party question of England, or of any other country. I wish the non-admission of foreign intervention in my own country, so I must have clean hands myself in respect to other countries. That is my position, to which I will conscientiously adhere. I consider, therefore, that my duty, as well as the respect to your law, honesty as well as prudence, oblige me not to play here the passionate part of an agitator, not to coquet with the reputation of being a revolutionist. (*Hear.*) In fact, I came hither not to get this reputation, but rather I declare my conviction to be that England wants no revolution at all (*Hear, hear*); because, firstly, it wishes but a progressive development, and, secondly, because England has sufficient political freedom to be insured that whatever England may still need it will not only carry out, but will carry it out peaceably. Now, this being my duty and my resolution, I act consistently—my ground was, is, and will be, in England, this; such and such are the true facts of the past struggles of Hungary. These facts, I confidently hope, are certain to secure the generous sentiments of England to my country's cause. I stated that, in my opinion, the form of government can be different in different countries, according to their circumstances, their wishes, and their wants. England loves her Queen, and has full motive to do so; England feels great, glorious, and free, and has full motive to feel so; but England being a monarchy, that can be no sufficient reason to her to hate and discredit republican forms of government in other countries differing in circumstances, in wishes, and in wants. On the contrary,

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the United States of America, being likewise a great, glorious, and free country, under republican government, the circumstance of being Republicans cannot give them sufficient motive to hate and discredit monarchical government in England. This must be entirely left to the right of every nation to dispose of its domestic concerns. Therefore, all I claim for my country, also, is, that England, seeing out of our past that our cause is just, should acknowledge the sovereign right of every nation to dispose of itself, and, by acknowledging this, England should not interfere, but also not to allow any Power whatever to interfere with the domestic matters of my country, or of whatever other nation. The rest should be left to the respective nations themselves, the more because it is worthy of that independence for which we struggled. I, therefore, thought that this was not the place for me to speak about the future organisation and form of government of my country, because that is a home question of ours, with which nobody ought to interfere. (*Loud cheers.*)

But my behaviour was not everywhere appreciated as I hoped. I met rather in certain quarters the remarks that I am slippery, and evade the question. Now, on the sense of sincerity I am particularly susceptible; I have the sentiment of being a plain honest man, and I would not be charged with having entered by stealth into the sympathies of England without displaying my true colours. (*Loud cheers.*) Therefore I must state clearly that in our past struggle we made no revolutions. (*Hear, hear.*) We began to transform in a peaceful, legislative manner, the monarchico-aristocratical constitution of Hungary into a monarchico-democratical constitution; we conserved our municipal institutions as our most valuable treasure, but gave them, as well as to the legislative power, for basis, the common liberty of the people; instead of the class privileges of old we established the personal responsibility of Ministers; instead of the Board of Council of old, which being a nominal body, was of course a mockery, to that responsibility of the Executive, which was our chartered right on paper, but not in reality. However, we but conserved that which was due to us by constitution, by treaties, by the coronation oath of every King, to be governed as a self-consistent, independent country, by our own native institutions, according to our laws. We established the freedom of thought, of the word and pen, and secured the freedom of conscience. We introduced, with the abolition of exemptions, equality in duties and rights before the law. We obliged all to contribute to the public necessity, every man according to his faculties; we emancipated the peasants, or, rather, gave them the land they tilled to be their free property. We made the soil free, the labourer free, the industry free, trade free; but we spared all existing material interests of every class, and resolved full indemnification for every material loss. We established trial by jury, provided for independent administration of justice, cared for cheap government, and took care that the national army should not become a tool of ambition among ourselves, or an instrument of oppression against foreign nations. All this we did peacefully by careful legislation, which the King sanctioned and swore to maintain.

But this very dynasty, in the most perjurious manner, attacked these laws, this freedom, this constitution, and our national existence by arms. (*Cheers.*) We defended ourselves by arms victoriously; and, after the perjurious dynasty called in the armies of Russia to beat us down, we resolved to defend ourselves against this tyrannical invader also, but, of course, declared the perjurious Hapsburgs not to be more our Sovereigns; deposed them; banished them; and declared ourselves a free and independent nation, but fixed no definite form of government—neither monarchical nor republican—declaring ourselves rather to be willing to follow the advice of the European circumstances. These are facts which cannot be altered, because they are facts. By this you see that in the past we made no resolution as to the future. Every just man must acknowledge that Hungary has fairly exhausted every peaceful means of self-preservation; it is not under the rule of the King, but under the iron oppression of a tyrant, who conquered Hungary by calling in sacrilegiously to his aid the armies of the Czar. So Hungary is not under government, but under a foreign intruder, who is not King of Hungary, being neither acknowledged by the nation, nor sanctioned by law. Hungary is, in a word, in a state of war against the Hapsburg dynasty. Hungary can in no other way regain its independence and freedom but in that way in which it was deprived of it—by war—as every nation which is free and independent conquered its deliverance from its oppressors; like Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, France, Sweden, Norway, Greece, the United States, and England itself (*cheers*); that is by a revolution, as some would call it—by a war of legitimate defence as I call it.

I will ever respect the laws of England, and do nothing here contrary to them; but so much I can state as a matter of fact, that my nation will never accept and acknowledge the perjured house of Hapsburg to become again lawful sovereigns of Hungary—never will it enter into any transactions whatever with that perjurious family, but will avail itself of every opportunity to shake off its yoke. Secondly, that though the people of Hungary were monarchical for 1000 years, yet the continued perjury of the Hapsburgs during 300 years, the sacrilegious faithlessness by which it destroyed its own historical existence, with the historical existence of my nation, as also my country's present intolerable oppression, have so entirely plucked out of the heart of my nation every faith, belief, and attachment to monarchy, that there is no power on earth to knit the broken tie again; and therefore Hungary wills and wishes to be a free and independent republic; but a republic founded on the rule of law, securing social order, securing to person and to property, and the moral development as well as the material welfare of the people (*cheers*),—in a word, a republic like that of the United States, founded on institutions inherited from England itself. This is the conviction of my people, which I share in the very heart of my heart.

I confidently hope the people of England will appreciate the justice of these remarks, and the honest convictions of my heart; and that it will not falter in its attachment to that cause which it honoured with its

sympathy, which it judged to be righteous and true, and which it consoled by its wishes and hopes. All I entreat is that the people of England may not give a charter to the Czar to dispose of the world, but rather make, by its powerful position, respected the rights of every nation to dispose of itself. With this hope I thank you once more for your sympathy. I beg leave, fatigued as I am, to retire, confidently trusting your noble-minded feelings cannot have the will to divert this demonstration of your sympathy into any party discussions whatever, in which I consequently could not participate, but which still could not fail to increase the difficulties, and do harm to my country's cause, which you honour by your sympathy.

Great cheering marked the conclusion of M. Kossuth's speech ; and the waving of hats and vociferations of welcome continued till he retired into Copenhagen-House.

On Wednesday, November 5th, M. Kossuth received a deputation from the friends of Italy ; in reply to which, he identified his views with those of the Society, and declared that Italy and Hungary were the wings of one army arrayed against one enemy.



LOUIS KOSSUTH.

SPEECH AT MANCHESTER.

ON Monday, the 10th of November, M. Kossuth, accompanied by several friends, left the Euston Square Station on his way to Birmingham. He travelled in a state carriage; and at every station he was welcomed by crowds of enthusiastic sympathisers. At Birmingham he was received by the borough members, and conducted in a carriage-and-four, with outriders in scarlet, through crowds of people, cheering lustily all along the miles of road to the residence of Mr. Geach. This progress is said to have rivalled that of the Queen. On the following morning, he left Birmingham for Manchester. At Manchester his welcome was as hearty as at Birmingham. The Free Trade Hall was densely crowded when, at one o'clock, M. Kossuth entered; and, after having received the Manchester address, rose and spoke as follows:—

If you expected to hear from me an eloquent speech I very much fear you will be disappointed. Disappointed, because since my arrival, God, the mighty protector of mankind's destinies, has caused me to be so much occupied with the sympathies of the people of England, I could not find time to prepare an eloquent speech—(*cheers*)—at all events not couched in words which in England, where every word is caught by the press (that mother and guardian of all progress), you would expect from me. You would be disappointed in the second place, because I have to answer an eloquent speech, and because when I would be eloquent in my own language, and when I want to give inspiration to those who hear me, I feel at a loss to utter my sentiments in a language to which I am a stranger. I have therefore to crave your indulgence, while I attempt to address you.

Mr. Chairman, there was once a king of Epirus, sent once a man, though I do not remember his name, to Rome. On his return it was reported by him to his master that he had seen a city of kings, where every man had as much happiness as the king himself holds. I have seen more in England, under your Government. I have seen the public opinion of the English people pronounced in such a voice as that of which

Lord Brougham once said : that now and then the voice of the people as the thunder of the Almighty is heard. (*Cheers.*) I saw the crowding of the people, which went to my heart ; and I have received addresses from all parts of Great Britain, equally as numerous as generous ; and I have had some idea of the public opinion of England. But I saw that public opinion incarnated in the great demonstrations of London, Birmingham, and Manchester ; and after I have seen those demonstrations, I loudly proclaim, Ye oppressed nations of Europe, be of good cheer and courage ! (*Cheers.*) I have experienced enough in my public life to know that public opinion, as that pronounced by the people of England on that class of which I am one of the humble representatives, may be dissimulated for a while ; it may be perhaps jeered at hardily ; but at last obeyed it must be—(*cheers*)—because England is a constitutional country, and in a constitutional country the public opinion is by right and by the constitution to give directions to Government and to the Parliament. (*Loud Cheers.*) I know what power public opinion has, a lawful right to claim in this glorious land ; and because I know that it must be very much, I say that I thank the people of England, I thank the people of Manchester, for their great aid to the cause of humanity, not in my name, but in the name of the oppressed nations. (*Cheers.*)

Since my arrival on England's happy shores, I have seen a continual opportunity for the pronouncement of that public opinion on that question the solution of which is ostensibly (apparently) looked to by Providence to be the task of our times—the question which will decide the fate of mankind for centuries. This question is none of scanty or partial interests. It is none of a noble commiseration for the misfortunes of an individual, or of one country. It is a question of universal interest, in which every country, every people are equally interested—I say equally interested. There may be a difference as to the succession of times, in which one or other nation will be affected by the unavoidable consequences of this question ; but affected they really are—one a day sooner, or one a day later than another—it is a mere question of time. No country, however proud its position, but chiefly, none within the boundary of the Christian family, and of European civilisation, can avoid that share of the consequences of this all comprehensive question, which will decide the approximate fate of humanity.

I scarcely want to say that this comprehensive question is, whether Europe shall be ruled by the principle of freedom or by the principle of despotism—(*"freedom, freedom !"*)—or to bring more home in a practical way to your generous heart that idea of freedom—the question is whether Europe shall be ruled by the principle of centralisation or by the principle of self-government—(*cheers*)—because self-government is freedom, and centralisation is absolutism. Shall freedom die away for centuries, and mankind become nothing more than the blind instrument of ambition, of some few, or shall the print of servitude be wiped out from the brow of humanity, and mankind become noble in itself, and a noble instrument to its own forward progress ? (*Cheers.*) Woe, a hundredfold woe, to every nation which, confident in its proud position of to-day, would

carelessly regard the comprehensive struggle of those great principles! It is the mythical struggle between heaven and hell. To be blessed or to be damned is the fate of all—this may reach us one day, sooner or later; but to be blessed or to be damned is the fate of all; there is no transaction between heaven and hell. Woe, a thousandfold woe to every nation which would not embrace within its sorrows and its cares the future, but only the passing moment of the present time. In the flashing of a moment, the future becomes present, and the objects of our present labours have passed away. As the sun throws a mist before the sun rises, so the spirit of the future is seen in the events of the present day.

There are some, who endeavour to contract the demonstrations of sympathy which I have had the honour to meet, to the narrow scale of personality. They would fain make believe, that there is nothing more in these demonstrations than a matter of fashion, a transitory ebullition of public feeling, passing without a trace like the momentary bubble; or, at the utmost, a tribute of approbation to the bravery of a gallant people in a just cause, and of consolation to their unmerited misfortunes. But I say, it is not so. I say, may no nation on earth have reason once to repent of having contemptuously disregarded these my words, only because it was but I who said them. I say that the very source of these demonstrations is, the instinctive feeling of the people—(*hear, hear*)—that the destiny of mankind has come to the turning point of centuries; it is the cry of alarm upon the ostensible approach of universal danger; it is the manifestation of the instinct of self-preservation, roused by the instinctive knowledge of the fact, that the decisive struggle, the destiny of Europe, was near; and that no people, no country, can remain unaffected by the issue of this great struggle of principles. (*Applause.*) The despotic governments of Europe feel their approaching death, and therefore they will come to the death-struggle. (*Hear, hear.*) And I hope this struggle is unavoidable, and because it is called forth by them, it will be the last in mankind's history.

That is the state of the case, as I conceive it, gentlemen. It is not my individuality—it is not my presence, which has aroused any feeling or sentiment; I am nothing, but the opportunity which elicited the hidden spark—the opportunity at which the existing instinctive appreciation of approaching danger caused in every nation the cry to burst forth—the loud cry of horror. Or else, how could even the most skilful sophist explain the fact of the universality of these demonstrations, not restricted to where I am present—not restricted to any climate—not restricted to the peculiar character of a people—not restricted to a state organisation—but spreading through the world like the pulsation of one heart—like the spark of heaven's lightning! (*Loud cheers.*) The addresses, full of the most generous sentiments, which I am honoured with in England, are the effects of my presence; but I am but the spark which kindles a feeling which has long existed, from the people of the metropolis, down to the solitary hamlets hidden by neighbouring mountains from the business of public life. (*Applause.*)

And I humbly entreat you to consider that this feeling is not restricted even to England: there is the public of the United States—(*applause*)—Italy, France, the noble English garrison of Gibraltar, the warm-hearted Portuguese, have all joined in these views; and on the very day when a deputation came over to England to honour me with the greeting of Belgium—that lofty monument of the love of freedom, and of its indomitable force,—even on that very day I got the knowledge of a similar demonstration in Sweden—the future left wing of the forces of freedom. (*Applause.*) Now, gentlemen, is this an accident? Is this fashion? (*Applause and laughter.*) Is this personal? What have I in my person, in my present, in my future, not to justify, but even to explain this universality of demonstration? Nothing—entirely nothing; only the knowledge that I am a friend of freedom—(*applause*)—though I am nothing but the opportunity for the manifestation of the instinctive feeling of so many nations, and at which the St. George of England is ready to wave the red flag. How can I say that this struggle is so near? Why, ladies and gentlemen, I state it because it is. (*Loud cheers.*) Every man knows it; every man feels, every man sees it.

A philosopher was once questioned, how he could prove the existence of God? “Why,” he replied, “by opening my eyes. God is seen everywhere; in the growth of the grass, and in the movement of the stars; in the warbling of the lark, and in the thunder of heaven.” (*Loud cheers.*) Even so I prove the decisive struggle in mankind’s destiny draws near. I appeal to the sight of your eyes; I appeal to the pulsations of your hearts, and to the judgments of your minds. You know, you see, you feel that the judgment is drawing near. (*Loud cheers.*) How blind are those men who have the affectation to assert that it is only certain men who push to revolution the continent of Europe, which, but for their revolutionary plots, would be quiet and contented? (*Laughter.*) Contented! (*Renewed laughter.*) With what? (*Loud and long shouts of laughter.*) With oppression and servitude? France contented, with its constitution subverted? Germany contented—with being but a fold of sheep, pent up to be shorn by some thirty petty tyrants? (*Loud cheers and laughter.*) Switzerland contented, with the threatening ambition of encroaching despots? Italy contented, with the King of Naples? or with the priestly government of Rome—the worst of human inventions? (*Cheers.*) Austria, Rome, Prussia, Dalmatia contented, with having been driven to butchery, and after having been deceived, plundered, oppressed, and laughed at as fools? Poland contented with being murdered? (*Cries of indignation.*) Hungary, my poor Hungary, contented with being more than murdered—buried alive—(*loud cheers*)—for it is alive. What I feel is but a weak pulsation of that feeling which pervades the breasts of the people of my country. (*Cheers.*) Russia contented with slavery! (*Hear.*) Vienna contented! Lombardy, Pesth, Milan, Venice, Russia, contented! Contented with having been ignominiously branded, burned, plundered, sacked, and its population butchered, and half of the European continent contented with the scaffold, with the hangman, with the prison, with having no political

rights at all, but having to pay innumerable millions for the highly beneficial purpose of being kept in serfdom? (*Cheers.*)

That is the condition of the continent of Europe—(*hear, hear*)—and is it not ridiculous and absurd in men to prate about individuals disturbing the peace and tranquillity of Europe? (*Hear.*) How is it that there are no revolutionising movements in England? Why no attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of England? Because you want no revolution. (*Hear, hear.*) Because you are ensured by your constitution, and by your public spirit, that whatever you request to be done—because no human things are perfect—(*hear*)—it will be done, and done peaceably. (*Loud cheers.*) I would like to see the man who would stand up here in England for the purpose of making a revolution. (*Hear.*) But there, on the continent of Europe, in its greatest part at least, tyrants of the world, you have disturbed peace and tranquillity, you have checked the growth of freedom on the continent, and it cannot be restored until the lovers of freedom contend successively against you, the sworn enemies of mankind, freedom, peace, and tranquillity. (*Cheers.*)

Let us look back, and see what has been done in the past. The gigantic contest against Napoleon was fought under the promise of freedom—the promise of freedom was the bait which brought the nations to fight. Then came the Congress of Vienna, which was attended by some of the most ambitious men of the world; but even there the interference of England in the settlement then to be made was a guarantee to mankind for some constitutional life at least. (*Cheers.*) And even your Castlereaghs were unable to bind Europe in oppression—(*hear*)—to Poland, Sicily, and many other nations, liberty was guaranteed; but where is Poland now, where is its constitution? (*Hear, hear.*) And here I would appeal to the public opinion of the world. And I would appeal to those very statesmen of England who belong to the very retrograde school—to them I would appeal as to those who had made terms without the sanction or consent of nations. (*Hear, hear.*) And I would put to them the question, “Is the present condition of Europe, that for which the people of England shed their blood in torrents—is it that for which England spent its innumerable millions, the interest of which you have to pay now, and will have to pay hereafter—(*hear*)—I ask the question, is the condition of Europe that which the people of England were willing to guarantee, and which God purposed should be the case? (*Hear.*)

Let oppression go on, and the spread of freedom will be the result. (*Hear.*) France had aroused herself, and the despots trembled. (*Hear.*) Despots had always tried to crush the nations of the world. But oh, how trembling despots are in these days! I have seen some of them—I have weighed them in the very hands of mine. Formerly, they broke only their words, now we are subjected to the consequences of a breach of their sworn oaths—and every tie is broken, every sentiment revolted, every interest hurt. (*Hear, hear.*) The praises of God are mingled with curses against despots, and oppressed European nations shake their chains, and bleeding nations feel their degradation. (*Cheers.*) This is

the present state of the European continent, at least for the greatest part. And still there are men who have regard for despots, but who are silent in regard to the duties due towards humanity. (*Hear.*) They speak of regard to tyrants, but they are silent about the dangers of mankind. (*Hear.*) In regard to the condition of mankind, the people of England have instinctively felt that we are on the eve of the day when liberty or despotism must be crushed down. (*Cheers.*) The people of England felt that their freedom was in intimate connexion with the principle of freedom on the European continent.

I feel most anxious to have this view shared by you, that Hungary is not so much an object of commiseration as it is an European question, and in this view I am supported by a gentleman whose opinion is as disinterested as it is important. He is a candidate for the high office of President of the United States, and therefore his opinion may be taken as that of the great democratic party to which he belongs: I quote some lines from the speeches made by Mr. Walker, of Southampton. (*Cheers.*) He says that an alliance of despotic powers to submit to them free governments less powerful than themselves, can have no aim but to sweep all free governments from the face of the earth. Poland was thus swept away by despotic powers, and Hungary, which had secured its freedom, and overthrown the forces of Austria, was overwhelmed by Russia, the very incarnation of despotism. (*Hear, hear.*) Now, when this was done, England could not expect long to enjoy her own institutions. Would free government and a free House of Commons be permitted, with trial by jury, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, if despotism ruled on the continent? Despotism could not long flourish there while there was freedom of speech and of the press in England. Such a moral artillery would overwhelm the despots, and, therefore, they would ultimately conspire to ruin the free institutions of England.

This is not the humble opinion of a poor individual like myself, the representative of an oppressed country, but of a man who is the representative of a large party, and a candidate for the government of a free people. (*Cheers.*) I will only add, that this alliance of despots is a fact. The case of Hungary shows it; and as I have faith in the rights of nations, I can with all confidence ask what is, and what will be, the practical issue of the thing that is here to be seen beginning?

I have every reason to look with particular hope, in respect to the solution of this question, to Manchester. Firstly, because Manchester is a young city. In 1720 it was a village of 24,000 men, and now it is the first manufacturing city of the world, with nearly half a million. It is a glory to a city to have endured to old age, to have lived through the vicissitudes of centuries, but it is no small glory to have grown up to a giant in a short period. That people which has grown up in a short time is a practical people, and therefore I look for a practical result from it. (*Cheers.*) I, secondly, have much faith in this, because Manchester, with Liverpool, is the most powerful link between Europe and the United States. Commerce is the locomotive of principles. (*Cheers.*) Your glorious destiny is to offer by your hand the support of the public

opinion of England to the United States, for the purpose of union in the policy of both countries in respect to Europe. That union, I say with a perfect conviction, would be the turning point in the destinies of Europe and mankind; it would be the victory of the principle of freedom, because the United States and England united, they will not, and they cannot, side but with freedom. That is to be one point, gentlemen, for which I must humbly ask the support of Manchester, in the councils of this city, which is in all respects in the most intimate connexion with the United States.

When I go to the United States in some few days, it will be—I will consider it to be—one of my duties to try if there I cannot be a humble opportunity for this union, as I was a humble opportunity for the promulgation of the solidarity sentiment of nations for the principles of liberty; and I have some hope, with your generous aid, to succeed: firstly, because there is in the United States already a great party which professes an inclination and a propensity to unite with England in its policy towards the world. Secondly, because the fate of Hungary has already somewhat contributed to change the old rivalries between the two brothers into the most brotherly feeling. Both countries have united in rescuing me from captivity. (*Cheers.*) I say—I may state as a matter of fact—that the first link to this union in policy is already made. Thirdly, because all depends on a true and exact definition, how it is thought that in the United States there is a ruling principle of non-intervention in European matters. I say very wise were those men that established that principle, and very wise were those who followed it. But neither those who established that principle nor those who followed it, were of the meaning that the United States should have nothing to do and nothing to regard, whatever fate attends humanity.

The principle of non-intervention is the recognition and the acknowledgment of the several right of every nation to dispose of its own domestic concerns; and so I take it as a principle, that though we have not the right to interfere with the domestic affairs of another country, whether it chooses to be a republic or a monarchy, or chooses to be even a despotism, so as it depends on its own will, that is what I assume to be the principle of non-intervention—the acknowledgment of the several right of every nation to dispose of themselves. (*Cheers.*) But that is not non-intervention which would be manifested if I use the words “that I don’t care whatever be the fate of humanity—I don’t care whatever the despots of the world may do with Europe, with mankind, and with liberty.” Because that is not non-intervention, but it is an encouragement even to despotism, to carry their victory of absolutism, which has gone so much too far already, I suppose there is no doubt that it is the policy of England and the United States to unite.

And I look with peculiar hope to Manchester, because—and I bow with deep respect to it—Manchester carried the principle of free trade. (*Hear, hear.*) What Manchester undertakes, it will carry. (*Cheers.*) Now, excuse me, ladies and gentlemen, it may perhaps appear strange what I say, but I am deeply convinced of it. I say that free-trade is

not carried. Cheaper bread is carried, but free-trade is not carried. (*Hear.*) Free trade will be carried when the produce of England's industry will have a free accession to the markets of Europe, from which by the absolutist principle they are now excluded. (*Hear, hear.*) When I came to England I took it for the rule of my behaviour not to mix with the internal affairs of England, because I wished to show that very respect for a nation's domestic affairs which I asked for my own country. But I may be excused when I find in England a fact largely established as the law of the land which has a connexion with the laws of my own country, if I mention it. And still even in that respect I say that the freedom of Europe is connected not only with the free trade party—it is also connected with the interest of the protectionist party in England, though I consider that the victory of the principle of freedom in Europe is such a question which, if duly considered, can be no party question in England itself; because if I take the principle of free trade, it is carried in respect to the importation of corn.

Now, if I were a protectionist, would I endeavour to overthrow that law? No; that were to try what is morally and materially impossible. It would scarcely be done without many misfortunes to the country. What would I do? I would carry on as a protectionist—if the definition of protectionist is to take guard of the agricultural interest of this country—I would carry on the principle to free exportation to other countries, that by this re-exportation the industry of England should have a greater market, more employment, better wages, surer and more efficient labour for the industrialist or the manufacturer; and by this they would, and in the best manner, promote the interest of agriculture. Because, where is better trade, where is more money, where is money hard to buy back that is bought by a country's produce? That would be the way to carry on, to protect the interests of agriculture—which, of course, are very important in every country—but that carrying on of the free trade principle to free exportation to other countries, is strongly connected with the great principle of freedom. Without that it is entirely impossible. Let me especially honour the people of Manchester, for having so far carried out the principle.

My poor nation, Hungary, even now, when groaning under the weight of despotism, consumes cotton manufactures of the value of two millions and a half pounds sterling yearly. In that consumption, which is a very great one, not a single yard of Manchester industry appears. Why? Because the governments of every people are the greatest locomotives of principles. (*Cheers.*) An alliance between the absolutist principle and free governments and free opinions is impossible and unheard of. (*Hear, hear.*) And what would be the consequence in the future, if Hungary had a free government on the basis of liberty? Of course, the Hungarians would undertake—will undertake—new developments of industry themselves. But the cotton manufacture they could never think of, because it would not be natural to them. British exports during the last three years—that is to say, from the beginning of 1847 up to the end of 1849, that is the last year for which the returns have been made

up by your Board of Trade—give an average of a fraction under $6\frac{1}{4}d.$ for each individual of the Russian population. To Austria British exports are still lower, averaging for every individual a fraction over $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ per head during the same period. Yet, during these three years, British exports to the United States have amounted on the average to more than 10s. for each individual. Great as is this difference, the difference is daily increasing. The despotically governed countries are taking gradually less, and the United States gradually more, of your progress. In the three preceding years, 1844, 1845, and 1846, your exports to Russia averaged $7\frac{1}{4}d.$ They have fallen off, as I have had the honour to state, to $6\frac{1}{4}d.$ During the same three years, your exports to the United States averaged $7s. 6d.$ They have increased by one quarter—that is to say, up to 10s.; so that not only is your market increased with the increase of the United States' population, but every individual of the United States' population consumes more of your products, while in Austria and Russia the reverse has taken place.

You will remark that though you ought proportionately to their respective populations to have five times more commerce with Russia and Austria than the United States, you have in fact nearly five times more commerce with the United States than with Russia and Austria; whence it may be inferred that, under a free Government, your commerce with those countries would be at least five-and-twenty times its amount at present. If 125 or 130 millions of Russia, Austria, and Italy were in the same condition as the highly manufacturing United States, those millions would consume as much at least as 50 or 60 millions more than the amount of the whole taxation of England and Ireland, who wish naturally to reduce taxation by cutting down those articles whose very existence tends to the disturbance of peace. But how can you reduce your armaments whilst France has got her armaments on foot ready to the hand of Changarnier; and how can you expect France disarmed whilst the armed despotisms are existing? Therefore, I venture to say, that in entreating your aid for the victory of the principle of liberty of Europe's continent, it is more than a dispensable compliment to your free trade school, of which I see the most able leaders and most energetic promoters around me. (*Cheers.*) To be sure they are not men to do things by halves.

Before my coming to you, ladies and gentlemen, I was asked by many what can I have to do here when many of your most influential individuals are intimately connected with the Peace Society, whereas I of course must be aware that what Austria, by Russian armaments, has taken away from Hungary, it will not restore by peaceable means. Francis Joseph, though a Jesuit, surely has not the intention to exchange his purple for the monk's garb of Charles the Fifth; neither does the Czar Nicholas intend to abandon his trade of tyranny. But this is true, and I will look confidently to several great associations of England. I hope they will support the great cause of which I am one of the humble representatives. I hope that it will be supported by the religious associations, because in Hungary freedom of conscience is put down by

despotism. Even in these very times the Protestants of Hungary shut their schools because they were forced by the Government to surrender their system of education and give it into the hands of the Austrian Jesuitical government. Therefore they shut up their schools, and I suppose they will not want for their support the religious protection societies. I look to the protection of the Reform Society, to the Free Trade Society, to the Association of the Friends of Italy, as, of course, the cause of Hungary and Italy must be identical. I openly declare that to none of these associations I look with more hope for a generous support than precisely to the Peace Association. (*Cheers.*) And should I not have entertained this expectation, the generous speech of one of your most eloquent and kind-hearted men, one of your most decided artisans, upholders and champions of freedom, would have convinced me I did not plead in vain for the support of that association of peace. (*Cheers.*)

Too truly other associations can perhaps oppose the cause of Hungary. The Peace Society is morally obliged to support it. If it is logical, certainly it is. If it is willing to fulfil the necessary conditions of its success, certainly it is. Everything depends on a good definition, and none of the continent of Europe represents the true meaning of the word "peace." Let us take first, in a private aspect, the word "peace." A man, for instance, is kicked out of his house. What shall he do? Shall he act according to the principles of the Peace Association—try to convince by reasoning? Shall he require the protection of the law? But what shall he do where there is no law—where he is out of the law? I believe that to surrender so much, then, would be to surrender the principle of the security of property, on which a certain one pillar or two, of social order repose. It would be contrary to the instinct of self-preservation, which God himself has given us. Though I must consider the principle of peace which is taken up to be agitated, carried out by the Peace Association, a principle for legislative adoption, the principle of non-resistance is a different principle to that of peace. That is precisely the case in Europe now. The nations are oppressed by the armed force of military governments. Despots will not give way—at least they will not without a struggle. Now, what should do the aggressed nation? Should they rely upon the principle of capitulation to the Czar, or the other military powers? Capitulation is no ground that they should rely upon—that they will themselves abandon their power, never.

If we look to history, where is there a single free country which was not forced to win its institutions? In the first progression and development of opinion, where is a single nation which was not forced to win these institutions by a legitimate defence of arms against arms? There is not a single case in history. Of course, when a nation is in the happy condition of the people of England, it is an example of freedom to the world, which has its parliament, its free institutions, its responsibility of ministers, its public spirit, and its position in the world. Such a country, of course, will never need to have recourse to arms as material forces. But how in England are these materials acquired? If you had not had

the revolution of 1665, what then would become of your parliaments? Therefore I confidently know that it is not possible for the glorious association of peace to have the intention to condemn the nations of Europe to a weak and artificial feeling of despotism. The first principle of that great society is the Christian principle. No one can subscribe more heartily than myself to that principle. What is there in the Christian religion? There is your glorious, great, angelic aspiration, "Glory to God in Heaven, peace and good will amongst men." But peace to tyrants—that is impossible. Peace to murderers—that is suicide, that is not part of the Christian religion. The second rule is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, and thou shalt not do to others that which thou wouldst not have done to thyself."

Now, if somebody is in need because he is assailed by a murderer, who burns his house down, and who will slay him, would it not be contrary to the command for me to say, that I never would come to help him? I assume that every member of whatever society—Peace Society, or whatever else—remembers the great rule, "Thou shalt do to thy neighbour as thou wilt that thy neighbour shall do unto thee." I find in the Christian religion there is given to the emperor what belongs to him, but it is not taught by the Christian religion to give him what does not belong to him. The freedom of opinion is not the property of emperors. (*Cheers.*) The second principle of this glorious society is the principle of non-intervention in foreign matters. That is precisely what I ask for: I am not come to England to ask your armed interference—to entreat England to take part in an armed restoration of Hungary. I only entreat England to respect, and make respected, the principle of the sacred right of every nation to dispose of its own affairs. (*Loud cheers.*) That glorious association I consider not an English society alone, but an association of the world. It is not for England alone. It has proclaimed to the world the principle of non-interference, and, therefore, I confidently trust there is not a single member of the Peace Society who would give this definition of the word non-interference as to say, "Some of these despots wish to dispose of mankind, England will not care about it." That is not the principle of this society. It cannot be its principle, we have heard so to-night from one of its most worthy members. (*Cheers.*) It is true public opinion is almighty, where it can act. (*Cheers.*) In what reposes the omnipotence of public opinion? It reposes in the belief that where it is respected by power there public opinion will make itself respected. This belief gives omnipotence to public opinion. This gives a force to it by which it carries things morally. That being my opinion I declare that myself, although I would have peace to all nations of Europe, I would have peace and not prisons, because if they have prisons they will have armies; nations cannot be free so long as the moral conduct continues to be sacrificed to the interest of certain families—so long as the entire system of the affairs of the greatest part of Europe can be summed up in these few words, "The people pay because I want soldiers and spies to keep up my power." That is not peace. They are chains which God has not created for the world. (*Cheers.*)

Absolutism can only be defended by the contentment of nations. It is calumny and almost perjury, to charge people for soldiery and spies. While there is freedom there is order. I view these thousands here—I view the thousands at Birmingham—without a single man to keep order, and I have never seen greater order than here. It is not true that nations like despotism, and look for it. There is no such people; but there is many a people which feels less death than oppression; and I am one of them. (*Cheers.*) So I am entitled to say I feel with confidence the identity of my principles with the principles of the association, and the identity of their principles with my wishes and my wants; and it is, therefore, that I was confident that Manchester, being one of the most glorious workshops of the Peace Association, would prove to be a supporter of the cause of liberty; and this my presentiment and expectation is closely fulfilled here.

So, gentlemen, let me now, in a few words, say what is the practical results which I, in the name of my good country and in the interest of humanity, would entreat the practical and glorious people of Manchester to give a generous sympathy towards my cause. It may be that in these principles substantial aid may enter. I feel, gentlemen, that never in my life, from no one, would I accept anything. My life is a proof of it. I would rather starve. It may be my fault; I feel it is my nature; but for the triumph of liberty—for my dearest country, I would not be ashamed to go begging from door to door like a poor mendicant. (*Cheers.*) But there are yet other things to which I look for a practical result. Firstly, public opinion has declared itself freely; but, to have force, this public opinion must go on pronouncing itself. Only I hope that the words of *Falstaff*, “I would it were bedtime, and all were well,” may never be taken for a motto by the people of England; but that public opinion may go on to pronounce itself. But, to be sure, there are many respects in which this pronouncement will tend to a happy result for humanity, and for England also.

Firstly, it would be a benefit to the cause of Hungary if public opinion is directed to what we are told about the secrecy of diplomacy. I confidently declare, I believe that every interior question of great importance in England is now resumed in the foreign-office. The principle of free trade is much resumed. It depends entirely upon how the foreign relations will be adjusted, whether England shall or shall not have free trade in Europe. And so every other question. Our reform questions depend on the progress of despotic principles in Europe, or upon the progress of liberty in Europe. Every interior question is resumed there; and I humbly entreat the people of England to bestow more attention and sympathy to the foreign relations, and that the people of England, feeling themselves to be a constitutional nation, has a conviction that it is right to give a direction to the foreign affairs in accordance with the public opinion of this country, as pronounced by those organs which by the constitution are established. If the secrecy of diplomacy is turned out, I confidently hope that will give to the public of England such a weight in the destinies of mankind, that it shall not need to speak of moral or

material forces, but only to go on with the pronouncement of that public opinion, and it will carry into effect the principle of liberty. Therefore, these are my wishes—meetings, petitions—a press to throw out the secrecy of diplomacy, and pronounce the will of the people of England, that all may be considered a right when the great day of decision comes. I humbly ask this pronouncement of the public opinion of the people of England for a full acknowledgment of the several rights of every nation to dispose of its domestic affairs.

And by the principle of non-interference, I understand not to permit the interference of one nation with another. Here I take the opportunity to declare, that it is true I for my own country, and for myself, have convictions; I consider that after what has happened in Hungary, if it were the most monarchical country in Europe, still the mere establishment of it is impossible, because the treachery of the house of Hapsburg has blotted out every hope of it. But it never came to my mind to have the pretension to go round through the world to preach Government principles. Wherever I go, I acknowledge the right of every nation to govern itself as it pleases, and I will say that I believe freedom can dwell under different forms of government. This I say, because gentlemen whom I have had the honour to answer, upon an address presented to me—of course, not having quite well understood my words—have given such a report as that I should have said, I considered in Europe there was no other form of government possible—no other really constitutional form of government, than a republic. That was a misunderstanding. I never said so. (*Loud cheers.*) I consider that a form of government may be different, according to the peculiar circumstances of a nation. Freedom exists in England under monarchical government as under republican government. There social order is established. Combine my republican convictions with the principle of respect for the security of persons and property. (*Applause.*)

Here, gentlemen, I will end. The generous attention I meet with in England makes me believe you expected to find in me something worthy of your attention. Now the spell is broken which distance had imparted to my name. (*Loud cheers and "No, no."*) The halo of expectation has died away, and here I sit, as a plain common man, as thousands and thousands are in your own country. But, ladies and gentlemen, however deep I may have fallen in your estimation, as to myself, let me most certainly believe that the present day will not vanish without some benefit to the cause of my unhappy land, and without some benefit to the cause of humanity. And, therefore, I end with these words: People of Manchester! let not the world, let not history say, that on the eve of the last struggle between despotism and liberty, you had nothing better to give to the principle of freedom than the compassion of tender hearts. People of England! shout out with manly resolution to the despots of the world, like the people of old, that the world shall be free—and you have given freedom to the world! (*Immense cheering.*)

At a breakfast given to M. Kossuth, by Mr. Henry, M.P., at Manchester, on Wednesday, November 12th, before starting on his return to Birmingham, to attend the great banquet there, the illustrious exile was invited to give the company assembled, a concise view of his general opinions. In reply to the invitation, M. Kossuth spoke as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—I am very happy to have this opportunity to make a few observations on a matter of fact to so distinguished a company. You cannot but have observed that the whole continent of Europe is discontented with its condition, while, as a matter of fact, England is entirely content. Except Belgium, England is the only country which does not seek revolutionary movement. It will not have revolution, but it will have progress—progress through the institutions which you already enjoy, and which, together with the public spirit of England, will carry you on day by day in a peaceful way. I consider the state of Europe now to be such that France, for instance, having failed in obtaining the practical results of three revolutions, it is natural that three such failures within sixty years should push the people on to new doctrines to regulate the future of the world. These doctrines by some are called communism, by some, socialism. Now I can understand communism, but not socialism. I have read many books on the subject, I consulted many doctors, but they differ so much that I never could understand what they really mean. However, the opinion of the world is ruled by the sense which is attributed to certain words. It may be the true sense or it may be the supposed one. But socialism, as I understand it, is inconsistent with social order and the security of property. (*Loud cheers.*) That being the case, I am entirely convinced that it is important and beneficial for humanity, when a man, plain or simple, however undeserving, can somewhat influence by his acts and by his activity the issue of the next struggle in Europe.

Now it is not my merit, but from the state of the case in my country, that I can somewhat influence the next revolution, which is unavoidable in Europe. And I declare that I have the most determined resolution to influence in such a way as that it shall not take a direction contrary to those principles on which I believe social order is based—(*loud cheers*)—that it shall not take a direction contrary to the great principle of security for personal property. But to succeed in a contrary direction, of course one thing is wanted, that the rational expectations of the nations of Europe should as soon as possible be fulfilled, because not only my opposition, but that of more important men, will have no effect if the nations are discontented. The contentment of the people is the only security for rational progress. (*Loud cheers.*) Now, in the revolutionary movements of discontented nations, arising from the disappointment of their just expectations, nobody can answer for what fluctuations the public excitement may take. It may be illustrated by the ancient history of the Sibylline books.

" Take Hungary, for instance. Three years ago we would have been extremely contented with the laws as made by our parliament in 1848, which laws did not break the tie between us and the house of Hapsburg. But then Austria assailed us by arms, and it became impossible for us to go on with that constitution. Then Austria called in the aid of Russian arms, Hungary was then under the necessity of breaking the tie, and only the third book remained. Hungary did not even then declare against monarchy, but gave instructions to her representative in England to say to the Government of that country, that if they wished to see monarchy established, we would accept any dynasty they proposed ; but it was not listened to. Then came the horrors of Arad, and destroyed all our faith in monarchy. So the last of the three books was burned. (*Cheers.*) And so it is, wherever the rational expectations of the people are not fulfilled, it is not known when their fluctuations will end. Therefore it is the duty of every rational man who is anxious for the preservation of person and property to help the world in obtaining rational freedom. All these new doctrines will vanish if the people are allowed to settle their affairs in a peaceable manner. That is the first point; and I am firmly decided to use all the influence which Providence may place in my hand in the next great struggle in such a manner as that no doctrines should rule the destinies of mankind which are subversive to social order. But to succeed in that direction, the nations of Europe must become free ; and if not, humanity will look for other means ; and where the excitement will subside I do not know. But men who, like me, merely wish to establish rational freedom, will in such circumstances lose all their influence, and others may get influence who may become dangerous to that principle. (*Cheers.*) The second point is, that I believe the people of England, but chiefly the influential classes, are deeply interested in bringing this principle of freedom to a happy issue. (*Hear, hear.*) First, I take the philanthropic principle, because the people of England—and principally such men as I have now the honour to address—are moved by the highest principles of philanthropy. Take only the question of human life, and I will mention one fact. I will take countries governed by the absolutistic principle, where the material comforts of the people can never be so well developed as under a free government. Great wealth may be concentrated in few hands, but the general comfort of the people is impossible. The people are not so well fed, and hence there is a great difference in the rate of mortality. In Russia, according to the averages taken by their own government, the average duration of human life is twenty-five years ; but I believe, sir, it would be nearer the truth to make the average eighteen years, whereas in England forty-six is the average. (*Loud cries of "hear, hear."*) In the United States, again, even in those parts where imperfect civilisation renders the climate unhealthy, the average is thirty-five years, and in the older settlements forty-six, the same as in England. (*Loud cheers.*) Such is the fruit of the absolutistic principle. The annual average of deaths in Russia is 2,500,000, while in England it is only 1,500,000, showing that there is annually one million of human beings sacrificed to

the absolutistic principle in Russia. (*Hear, hear.*) Now, I ask you whether over the whole world and in the bloodiest war there ever was sacrificed one-tenth part of what is destroyed by the terrible peace of Russia. (*Hear, hear.*) So much for the philanthropic principle.

Now take the principle of freedom. England is in that happy condition that she has no occasion for revolution, and will not have it. (*Hear, hear.*) England loves her Queen—(*loud cheers*)—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the mighty power of holding such meetings as I have lately had the honour to address. England has her Parliament, which is more or less the representative of public opinion. (*Cheers.*) By all these means peaceful progress is secured. (*Hear, hear.*) But you know that history, that book of life, teaches us one thing, that every age has had its ruling principle, and that these principles have directed the whole world. There were the crusades, for instance; then feudality; and, lastly, the Reformation. All Europe was shaken by these principles; and so it is with those principles, that when one of them starts up, no nation can avoid feeling its influence. The direction of the present era is freedom. (*Much cheering.*) The human mind is more developed, and the past expectations have failed in the direction of freedom. In England freedom has always been the direction of public opinion, and under its influence you have peacefully developed your institutions. But their further development depends on the condition of the principles of freedom throughout the world. Should absolutism succeed on the continent, it will recoil upon you.

I will now point out to you the strong connexion between the commercial prosperity of England and the freedom of the world. It is a fact that the commerce of England is, from year to year, losing its name in the markets of the continent of Europe, and this will go on more strongly when absolutism gains more ground. Absolutism cannot agree with free trade, because free intercourse with such mighty and free nations as England, would bring upon it such moral batteries of freedom as would soon endanger its existence. (*Cheers.*) Therefore, day by day, you will lose these markets, and—it is a prophetic word I say—England will at last be put in a condition to look for wars, to preserve her markets. (*Hear.*) Whereas seriously aiding the nations of Europe to get freedom, you will get markets at home at your own door such as no other part of the world could offer. Now what is to be done for the principle? England has many means in her hand to influence the situation. First, I believe that even the success of the internal questions of England is deeply concerned in the administration of your foreign affairs. Therefore, my most humble prayer to you, in the name of oppressed mankind, is that you may inquire more how the foreign relations of England are managed. Until now the public opinion of England did not interfere, perhaps with reason, because England has grown up from within, but now she is fully grown, and therefore I think it most important that public opinion should be brought to bear on foreign affairs, and those affairs should not be settled without the knowledge of the people.

Nil de nobis sine nobis is a good constitutional maxim, and it has no application in any question. Of foreign affairs the people are left uninformed. To abolish, then, the slavery of diplomacy would confer a benefit upon humanity. (*Hear, hear.*) I fairly state that I do not consider it is the Russian arms that are omnipotent in the world. It is the intrigues of Russian diplomacy that are most dangerous. There is no cabinet in the world that would not be affected by such dangerous intrigues, and these can only be counterbalanced by putting down this dangerous principle of secrecy, and by opening the eyes of the people to the whole of these affairs. (*Hear.*) I am informed that in a few weeks hence it is intended to have a reform meeting in Manchester. Suppose it were to adopt such a resolution as that the meeting declared itself to be entirely convinced that the peaceful development of freedom, connected with the security of social order at home, is strongly connected with the principle of freedom on the European continent, and being so connected, the meeting declares its opinion that every nation has a right to dispose of its domestic affairs, and that, to secure those interests, it is the duty of England—not to interfere, but not to allow other powers to interfere; and that this meeting considers such a principle to be necessary to the peaceful development of itself. Then such a declaration of a mighty meeting could not fail to influence the destinies of humanity.

Going further, might not the Chamber of Commerce petition Parliament, declaring themselves to be alarmed at seeing the commerce of England on the Continent decreasing from year to year; and that, knowing what is the cause of this decrease, they have come to the conviction that it is the absolutist principle; and out of that consideration they petition government to act in such a manner as that nations shall have full facilities for using their natural rights and disposing of their affairs on the basis of natural freedom, and not to admit of armed interference depriving them of that right. If such a declaration were to go to Parliament from such places as Manchester and Birmingham—in a word, if the fearful agitation were to go on as it did on every great question, I believe that the position of England as regards freedom consumed, and that the destinies of Europe might be protected without the shedding of one drop of blood, or the expenditure of one shilling of money. But if this does not go on, if public opinion falls asleep, of course the despots will not care for it. They will consider that England fears war, and will not interfere.

It is not the first time that I have heard the public opinion of England pronounced in favour of freedom without effort. The treaties of Vienna have been abolished entirely, and I believe a great reason has been the secrecy of diplomacy. Secrecy is the great agent of absolutism, and if you allow absolutism to go on, you may depend upon it that free trade will soon suffer. The next point is, that the slightest material interest of England is in immediate connexion with the freedom of the world, the proudest and most honourable position to which a nation can raise itself. (*Loud cheers.*) With respect to foreign affairs, I have undertaken not to interfere in your internal affairs, and therefore I will not pronounce an

opinion as to how your foreign affairs are conducted. All I ask is that you will read the blue books—(*a laugh*)—and then form your opinion as to how your foreign affairs are carried on. (*Hear, hear.*) Read your blue books; and as I am going to America, I entreat you not to forget my poor country in any meeting you may have, for it will have its influence in the destinies of the world; and in America, the opinion of Manchester, so intimately connected with the United States, will assist me in my task, which is to show that the union of those two powers is the key of the future of the world. If both these states adopt the wise policy, then, of course, the liberties of the world are safe.

One word more. I said yesterday that, for myself, I want no personal aid. This is a susceptibility of my friends when in power, and my friends told me I must be indemnified, and I must have 100,000 florins. I refused it. (*Hear, hear.*) But for the cause of freedom, I will beg from door to door. (*Cheers.*) Therefore, if you consider it of the smallest importance that I should have the means of developing those opinions, you will generally stretch forth a brother's hand to help us, and keep up this beneficial movement. I would with the most warm thanks acknowledge the slightest help which you give, not to me, but to the cause of freedom and humanity. (*Hear, hear.*) That is all. I was anxious, in a more private way, to explain my sentiments, and although I am conscious I have said nothing new, it is always important to influence men in harmony with the cause of the distressed.



ME K OESUTH AND CHILDREN.—FROM A DAQUENFESTER BY CLAUDY.

SPEECH AT BIRMINGHAM.

ON the following day, Wednesday, Nov. 12th, M. Kossuth, accompanied by Lord Dudley Stuart and other friends, returned to Birmingham, and repaired to the Town Hall, where he received a number of addresses from various towns, before attending the great public banquet.

At the banquet, M. Kossuth rose, and in reply to the speech of Mr. Scholefield, M.P., introducing the great toast of the evening, said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—

Three years ago, yonder house of Austria, which had chiefly me to thank for not having been swept away by the revolution of Vienna in March, 1848, having in return answered by the most foul, most sacrilegious conspiracy against the chartered rights, freedom, and national existence of my native land—it became my share, being then member of the ministry, with undisguised truth to lay before the Parliament of Hungary the immense danger of our bleeding father-land. (*Hear, hear.*) Having made the sketch, which, however dreadful, could be but a faint shadow of the horrible reality, I proceeded to explain the alternations which our terrible destiny left to us, after the failure of all our attempts to avert the evil. Reluctant to present the neck of the realm to the deadly snake which aimed at its very life, and anxious to bear up against the horrors of fate, and manfully to fight the battle of legitimate defence, scarcely had I spoken the word—scarcely had I added the words that the defence would require 200,000 men and 80,000,000 of florins, when the spirit of freedom moved through the hall, and nearly 400 representatives rose as one man, and lifting their right arms towards God, solemnly said, “We grant it—freedom or death!”

Thus they spoke, and there they swore, in a calm and silent majesty, awaiting what further word might fall from my lips. And for myself: it was my duty to speak, but the grandeur of the moment, and the rushing waves of sentiment benumbed my tongue. A burning tear fell from my eyes, a sigh of adoration to the Almighty Lord fluttered on my lips; and, bowing low before the majority of my people, as I

bow now before you, gentlemen, I left the tribunal silently, speechless, mute. Pardon me my emotion—the shadows of our martyrs passed before my eyes; I heard the millions of my native land once more shouting liberty or death! (*Loud cheers.*) As I was then, sirs, so am I now. (*Hear, hear.*) I would thank you, gentlemen, for the generous sympathy with which, in my undeserving person—(“*No, no!*”)—you have honoured the bleeding, the oppressed, but not broken, Hungary. (*Cheers.*) I would thank you for the ray of hope, which the sympathy of the English people casts on the night of our fate. I would thank you, gentlemen, warmly as I feel, and as becomes the dignity of your glorious land. But the words fail me; they fail me not only from want of knowledge of your language, but chiefly because my sentiments are deep, and fervent, and true. (*Loud cheers.*) The tongue of man is powerful enough to render the ideas which the human intellect conceives; but in the realm of true and deep sentiments it is but a weak interpreter. These are inexpressible, like the endless glory of the Omnipotent! (*Loud cheers.*)

But could I dare to say something about my humble self without becoming presumptuous, I would beg leave to state that it is not only from to-day, but from my early youth, I have been spiritually connected with Britannia. (*Hear, hear.*) I was yet young, sir, under rigorous circumstances, almost anti-didactically, preparing my soul for the future, which is a common one to us all—to be useful so far as possible to Fatherland and to humanity. (*Hear, hear.*) The great things that have occurred I could not then anticipate. I could not anticipate that it was I who would have, by my sufferings, to break way to the freedom of thought in my native land—that it was I who, by applying to several special objects of association which has produced so many wonders in this glorious country—should have unprecedented influence on my nation's life, capable of leading from the indifference of despondency to the cheerfulness of activity, and by activity to self-confidence—(*hear, hear*)—that the liberation of my people from those hereditary burthens that have weighed them down for 500 years; that the political emancipation which transformed the close hall of privileges into an open temple of common liberty; that the sanction of the great principle of equality in duties and rights, should ever be associated with the recollection of my humble name; or that it should be my lot to reconcile the stubbornness of past ages with present necessities and the exigencies of modern times. I could not anticipate that it was I who should at one time of my life be the shield of protection to the head of the proud house of Hapsburg in his own imperial residence, and that, seeing this service returned by a war of extermination to my native land, it should be my destiny to lead on Hungary in such a gigantic struggle for independence—that struggle which but for a moment—yes, with an unshaken trust in the justice of God, I swear—for a moment only, even the combined powres of the despots of two large empires were able to overcome by getting for an ally a traitor in our own ranks—that it should be my destiny to lead on Hungary in such a conatst, which, spite of its momentary misfortunes,

will still prove the death-blow to the bondage of feudalism, the turning-point in the future of at least one-half the European continent, a cry of alarm to all nations to unite in the cause of freedom against the union of absolutism—(*hear, hear*)—and to raise my nation out of the narrow proportion of a provincial vegetation to such a rank as would make her an element indispensable to the triumph of civilisation and liberty; and, at last, that I, the insignificant son of modest Hungary, should be honoured with so much notice from this glorious land, that such as, since Hungary was a nation, no Hungarian, or perhaps any other stranger, was ever honoured with. (*Cheers.*)

These and many similar things could never have entered into my early dreams. (*Loud cheers.*) The sphere of activity which was then open to me was narrow as my faculties, and modest as my condition. Ambition never troubled the peace of my mind. (*Cheers.*) I knew that it is not given to man to choose his position in the world, but I knew it is given to him honestly to fill the place which Providence has assigned to him. (*Hear, hear.*) So I rested contented with the idea that the great architect above knows best what use to make of the meanest nail, and endeavoured to prepare myself to become a feeble instrument in the hands of Providence to do some little good work. (*Hear, hear.*) In this endeavour I had for my teacher that book of life, history. (*Hear, hear.*) It was the great examples of the classical past that warmed the susceptible young heart to noble aims and instincts; but the thirst of scrutiny pushed on the mind to look around for some other master than the ruins of vanished greatness, or those mournful monuments of the fragility of human things. (*Hear, hear.*) I looked round not for ruins, but for life, and to be able to teach my nation how to live. (*Cheers.*)

It was then that my regards turned with admiration upon the Anglo-Saxon race, this living wonder of both hemispheres, the glorious Albion. (*Loud cheers.*) Hither my attention was drawn by the striking resemblance and coincidence of institutions which the observer cannot fail to mark in the histories of our past; hither my attention was drawn by the fact that the fatal sickness of European statesmanship, inherited from ambitious conquerors—the propensity to centralise every power, and to govern the people like imbeciles, even in their domestic concerns, is here. It has not yet extirpated the germ of municipal public life, without which—I repeat the word, which my bad pronunciation made not quite well understood on another occasion—I mean that without a municipal public life, I believe no practical freedom can exist; and for the loss of it all ministerial responsibilities, all parliamentary omnipotencies, are but a pitiful equivalent. But above all, hither was my attention forcibly drawn by the wonderful greatness of your country. And I was searching the source of it, and I found it, not alone in your institutions, because these, as every human thing, can nowhere be entirely perfect, but I found them, together with your institutions, in that public spirit which pervades every fibre of your nation.

Sir, like the spirit of God, which, on creation's day, spread over the waves, I found it in the freedom you enjoy. Yes, sir, I found England

not free because mighty, glorious, and great; but I found her mighty, great and glorious, because free. (*Loud cheering.*) So was England to me the book of life, which led me out of the fluctuation of wavering thoughts to unshakeable principles. (*Hear, hear.*) It was to me the fire which steeled my feeble strength with that iron perseverance which the adversaries of fate can break but never bend. (*Cheers.*) My heart and my soul will as long as I live bear on itself the seal of this book of life. (*Hear, hear.*) And so has England long ago become the honoured object of my admiration and respect; and so great was the image of Britannia which I cherished in my bosom that, lately, when the strange play of fate led me to your shores, I could scarcely overcome some awe in approaching them, because I remembered that the harmony of great objects wants the perspective of distance, and my breast panted at the idea that the halo of glory with which England was surrounded in my thoughts would perhaps not stand to the touch of reality, the more because I am well aware all what is human, and every age, has its own fragilities. I know that every society, which is not a new one, has, besides its own fragilities, to bear also the burdens of the sins of the past, and I know it to be almost a fantastical law in mankind's history, that the past throws over so large a shadow in the present and in the future, that to dispel it entirely the sun must be mounted very high. But so much I must state with fervent joy—that on the whole the image which reality in England presents bears at every step such a seal of greatness, teeming with rich life, and so solid in foundation, that it far surpasses even such expectations as were mine.

And the thing which in the midst of your great nation strikes most the mind of the observer, is that he meets in moral, material, and social respects, such elements of a continual progress towards perfection; and these elements display such a mighty, free, and cheerful activity, and this activity is so lively pervaded by the public spirit of the people, that however gigantic those triumphs of civilisation may be which England has already proudly to show to the astonished world, and great they are—they are things called wonders by history which shrink to pigmies before them. Nevertheless, one feels by instinct all this to be but a degree—a gigantic one to be sure, but still only a degree to what posterity will have the lot to admire here. But, having the honour to dine in Birmingham, surrounded by you here in the Town-hall, which, like your free schools, your Market-hall, and several of your hospitals, all raised without any external assistance, are so many proofs of the lofty public spirit, self-confident force, and perseverance of Birmingham, you will allow me, gentlemen, to state, that in no place of England have I met the elements of your country's greatness on more solid basis displaying their activity; in no place I more confidently hoped to see that sympathy which I meet, to have a practical result, than here in Birmingham. (*Loud cries of "Hear, hear."*)

I have not the pretension to tell your own history to you. It is one of your particular glories to call men like William Hutton your own, and I like to prove what I say, so you will allow me briefly to state the

motives which make me look to your city with that trust and that hope. (*Hear, hear.*) Industry is a chief element of greatness, welfare, power, and might. It is industry which gives practical value to science. In other branches of employment, human faculty appears to be a developing power, but industry is a creating power; and being so, it is the most efficient locomotive of progress. (*Hear, hear.*) But industry, highly beneficial in itself, becomes a pedestal to the public order of a country, and a lasting source of public and private welfare, when it is not only largely diffused, but also connected with an independent condition of the manufacturers, which independence, securing a substantial condition to entire classes, cannot fail to impart to the manufacturing man that self-esteem, that noble pride, and that sentiment of proved dignity, which is the mark of a free man, and the richest source of private and public virtues. It is so that we see in the historical period of the middle age, the cities to be the last stronghold of liberty, when all around them was feudal bondage. And what were the cities of old? Almost nothing else but corporations of manufacturers, independent in their situation, working at the fire of their own domestic hearth, working for themselves—men whom we might characterise as small masters, not overwhelming in wealth, but independent in their position. (*Cheers.*) So became industry the last stronghold of political freedom, as it was precisely the means of personal independence. The development of science and wealth must have led, of course, to large, mighty industrious establishments, where the secret powers of nature are made subservient to the creating power of industry; and these mighty establishments are even as beneficial to every country, where a large population works for employment, as they are glorious in the history of the development of man's faculties, but requiring large capital, and therefore more subjected to the fluctuations of commerce. Being exposed to great losses, as well as to great gains, they have more of a personal character, whereas industry largely diffused, and founded on a substantial, independent situation of those who work, has a more public and political character, and constitutes a lasting public element of the condition of the country.

Now, this is precisely the happy condition and the glory of Birmingham. It is this basis upon which Birmingham rose from the time of Julius Cæsar. Always a seat of industry, it became the centre and the heart of a large manufacturing district, bringing the combination of the lime, iron, and coal of that district in suitable forms to become the common benefit of the world; giving arms to those who had the lot to fight for their liberation, the pen to fix the idea of thinking men, the cable to the wandering sailor, as also the fine neck-chain to the fair beauties of the world. I saw with admiration the Crystal Palace, that magnificent meeting-hall to humanity. The meeting was in London, but I was lost in a wonderment at Birmingham's astonishing industrious energy. I saw and admired the crystal fountain, the most magnificent work in glass industry. I know Birmingham to be the metropolis of the great railway system. I know that it was Birmingham which preceded, by its local exhibition, the idea of the World's Exhibition. (*Cheers.*) I know that

it is Birmingham which gave, by the genius of its Elkington, the electro-type to us. (*Hear.*) I know that machine-weaving was here used before the power-loom was introduced elsewhere. I know that here was the workshop of Watt, whose steam-engines blotted the word "distance" out of the dictionary. (*Cheers.*) But what I the most admire is that you have even made the steam—this omniferous power of our times—subservient to the peculiar domestic and independent character of your largely-diffused industry, so as to be almost an article of domestic use. (*Cheers.*)

The character of your industry makes me consider Birmingham as a real seat of that strongly-felt spirit of independence and freedom which makes your glory and my hope. (*Hear.*) Myself, the wandering son of a bleeding nation, feels, after two hard years, for the first time, my heart flushed with joy, because on seeing the English people, and on inhaling their public spirit to my vexed soul, I can't forbear to believe that the freedom of such a nation must be the pulsation of mankind's approaching liberty, and that the part of the world where such a pyramid of civilisation stands, cannot be doomed to be the prey of Russian or Austrian despots. (*Great cheering.*) You remember Paulus Æmilius, whose triumph by a whim of fate was placed between the tombs of his two sons. You remember his quite Roman words—" *Cladem domûs meæ vestra felicitas consolatur.*" Were there anything in the world able to console a Magyar for the misfortunes of his fatherland, here is the place where I would repeat the words of yonder Roman son! (*Hear, hear.*) But alas! (and who would blame me for it?) even here where I am, and so surrounded as I am, still I feel myself a homeless exile—(*hear, hear*)—and all that I see carries back my memory to my down-trodden land. (*Hear, hear.*) Sorrow takes deeper root in human breasts than joys; one must be an exile, and the home of the poor exile must be suffering as mine is, that the heart of man can feel the boundless intensity of the love of home. (*Hear, hear.*)

And, however strange it may appear to you, the roots of my life are not within myself, my individuality is absorbed in this thought, "Freedom and Fatherland!" (*Cheers.*) What is the key of that boundless faith and trust my people bear to me, their plain unpretending brother—a faith and confidence seldom to be met in like manner in his way. What is the key of it—that this faith, this confidence, stands still fast, neither troubled by the deluge of calumnies, nor broken by adversities? It is that my people took, and take me still, for the incarnated personification of their wishes, their sentiments, their affections, and their hopes. (*Cheers.*) Is it not then quite natural that the woes of my people also should be embodied in myself? I have the concentrated woes of millions of Magyars in my breast. (*Hear, hear.*) And allow me, gentlemen, a sort of national self-esteem in that respect. The people—that mighty basis of the pyramid of mankind—the people is everywhere highly honourable, noble, and good. Some few may be selected to be the honoured of humanity; they may, by the powerful soar of their genius, rise to the very height whence, as Halley or your

Newton said, "Man is forbidden nearer to approach God." But they are exceptions, and, because so, they are not the manifestation of the eternal law. And you know the development to which mankind is called in going on according to steady eternal laws. (*Hear, hear.*) Those selected few stand on the top of humanity, so they are not the basis of it. The basis is the people; they are steady and lasting. (*Hear.*) My belief, therefore, is, that it is the instinct of the people which is the true revelation of mankind's divine origin. It is, therefore, I was saying, that the people is everywhere highly honourable, noble, and good.

But, though to me, as to a Hungarian, that sort of sentiment may not be becoming which befits a British man, who, whatever be his personal merits, puts—and with right—his greatest pride in the idea to be a citizen of Great Britain; still allow me to prostrate myself in spirit, before the memory of my suffering people; allow me to bear witness before you, that the people of Magyars can take with noble self-esteem, a place in the great family of nations; allow me, even in view of your greatness, to proclaim that I feel proud to be a Magyar. (*Great cheering.*) While, during our holy struggle, we were secluded from the world, our enemies, wanting to cover their crimes by lies, told you the tale that we are in Hungary but an insignificant party, and this party fanaticised by myself. Well, I feel proud at my country's strength. (*Hear, hear.*) They stirred up by foul delusions to the fury of civil war our Croat, Wallach, Serb, and Slovak brethren against us. It did not suffice. (*Hear, hear.*) The house of Austria poured all his forces upon us; still it would not do. (*Cheers.*) We beat them down. (*Cheers.*) The proud dynasty was to stoop at the foot of the Czar. He thrust his legions upon us, and still we could have been a match for him. One thing there was which we, the plain children of straight uprightness, could not match—that is, the intrigues of Russian diplomacy, which knew how to introduce treason into our ranks. (*Cries of "Shame."*) This caused us to fall, combined with Russian arms. But still we were styled to be only a party fanaticised by me.

Well, "I thank them for the word." You may judge by this what will then be, when not a mere party but together all the Magyars, also all the Croats, Wallachs, Serbs, and Slovaks, melted in one body, will range under the standard of freedom and right. (*Hear, hear.*) And be sure they will. (*Cheers.*) Humanity, with its childish faith, can be deluded for a moment, but the bandage soon falls from its eyes, and it will be cheated no more. And yet, though we are oppressed, they are oppressed and deceived. (*Hear, hear.*) Afterwards, the scorned party turned out to be a nation, and a valiant one; but still they said it is I who inspired it. Perhaps there might be some glory in inspiring such a nation, and to such a degree. (*Cheers.*) But I cannot accept the praise. No; it is not I who inspired the Hungarian people—it was the Hungarian people who inspired me. (*Loud cheers.*) Whatever I thought, and still think—whatever I felt, and still feel—is but a feeble pulsation of that heart which in the breast of my people beats. (*Hear, hear.*) The glory of battles is ascribed to the leaders, in history—theirs are the laurels

of immortality. And yet on meeting the danger, they knew that, alive or dead, their name will upon the lips of the people for ever live. How different, how purer, is the light spread on the image of thousands of the people's sons, who, knowing that where they fall they will lay unknown, their names unhonoured and unsung, but who, nevertheless, animated by the love of freedom and fatherland, went on calmly, singing national anthems, against the batteries whose cross-fire vomited death and destruction on them, and took them without firing a shot—(*hear, hear*)—they who fell, falling with the shout, "Hurrah for Hungary!" (*Great cheering.*)

And so they died by thousands, the unnamed demigods. (*More cheering.*) Such is the people of Hungary. (*Hear.*) Still they say it is I who have inspired them. No; a thousand times, no! It is they who have inspired me. (*Enthusiastic cheering.*) The moment of death, gentlemen, is a dreary one. Even the features of Cato partook of the impression of this dreariness. A shadow passed over the brow of Socrates on drinking the hemlock cup. With us, those who beheld the nameless victims of the love of country, lying on the death-field beneath Buda's walls, met but the impression of a smile on the frozen lips of the dead, and the dying answered those who would console, but by the words, "Never mind; Buda is ours. Hurrah for the fatherland!" So they spoke and died. He who witnessed such scenes, not as an exception, but as a constant rule,—he who saw the adolescent weep when told he was yet too young to die for his land; he who saw the sacrifices of spontaneity; he who heard what a fury spread over the people on hearing of the catastrophe; he who marked his behaviour towards the victors, after all was lost; he who knows what sort of curse is mixed in the prayers of the Magyar, and knows what sort of sentiment is burning alike in the breast of the old and of the young, of the strong man and of the tender wife—and ever will be burning on, till the hour of national resurrection strikes—he who is aware of all this, will surely bow before this people with respect, and will acknowledge, with me, that such a people wants not to be inspired, but that it is an everlasting source of inspiration itself. (*Great cheers.*) This is the people of Hungary. (*Cheers.*) And for me, my only glory is, that this people found in myself the personification of their own sentiments. (*Hear.*) This is all he can tell of himself, whom you are honouring with so many tokens of your sympathy. Let me therefore hold the consoling faith, that, in honouring me by your sympathy, you were willing to give your sympathy to the people of the Magyars.

But let me ask what can be the meaning of the sympathy of the English people? Is it but a funeral feast offered to the memory of a noble dead? God forbid! The people of England are the people of life; their sympathy belongs to the life. The hurrah which greeted me on your shores—the warm, sincere cheering of the hundred thousands in your streets, so generous and still so modest, so loud and so sincere, so free and still so orderly—I take for the trumpet-sound of the triumph of freedom, justice, and popular rights. To be sure, deep is the sorrow which weighs on me:

it is, as I have said, the concentrated woe of millions ; but do not think, I pray, this sorrow to be that of despondency, which knows nothing better than hopeless complaint. No ; this sorrow is such a one as enlarges the horizon of hope and of perseverance, getting, like the Antæus of the fable, new strength from every fall. Let me, therefore, assure you, gentlemen, that the people of Hungary has a future yet ; let me confidently state that the people of England have not spent their sympathy to a corpse. (*Hear, hear.*) But, well may you ask, "What are the motives of this hope?" The first basis of my hope is the Almighty himself—(*hear*)—the God of Justice who cannot grant a lasting victory to wickedness. History has to be sure recorded the downfall of mighty empires, of nations, to whom compared, the Magyars can scarcely claim a name. But the fall of those nations was precisely the revelation of the eternal justice of God. They fell by their own crimes. Nations die, but by suicide. (*Hear.*) That is not our case. Hungary is not the sacrifice of its own crimes. An ambitious woman had in the palace of Vienna the sacrilegious dream to raise a child to the seat of power upon the ruins of liberty. Well she knew that God would not be with her, but she knew that the Czar would be with her ; and what do they care for God if only the Czar be with them ?—the Czar who dared to boast that he has the calling to put his foot upon mankind's neck. Arrogant mortal ! thou dust before God ! No, gentlemen, by such an act a nation may suffer, but not die. The God of humanity can not admit this. And do you not already his judgment mark ? They said, "Down with Hungary, that Hapsburgs may rule as they please." And look ! they had already in the first act of their sacrilegious plot to mendicate the helm of him whose aid gave them dishonourable bondage instead of the coveted might. They longed to be the sun and have nations for moons to revolve around them in obedience ; and they themselves became the obedient moon of a frail mortal. Let them not rely on their Czar ; his hour also will come. The millions of Russia cannot be doomed to be nothing else than blind instruments of a single mortal's despotic whims. Humanity has a nobler destiny than to be the footstool to the ambition of some families. The destiny of mankind is freedom, sir, and the sun of freedom will rise over Russia also ; and in the number of liberated nations who will raise the song of thanksgiving to God, not even the Russians will fail. So let the house of Austria trust to his Czar. The people of Hungary and myself we trust to God !

The second anchor of my hope is my untowering faith in the destiny of humanity. The realisation of this destiny can have no other basis than the people itself. However arrogant may therefore be those potentates of the continent, who, unlike to the gracious Queen of these isles, take themselves for the aim, and the people but for a mere tool, I have the firm conviction that every state's organisation is perverted, perverse, and doomed to be turned up, where single individuals or single classes have the pretension to constitute the basis of the society. Mankind has but one single aim, and that is mankind itself. And this aim has but a single instrument, mankind again. They are rebels

against God who believe their calling to be—to form the Atlas, and to bear upon their shoulders the vault of humanity. One single pressure of the vault and they are crushed to dust. They are rebels against God who believe the great pyramid of mankind but for the purpose to exist that they may proudly stand on its top, having the pretension to doom the pyramid to immobility, only to serve as a pedestal to them to look down haughtily from the height. One shivering only, and they are shaken off, and hurled down to the dust. There let them lay!

Truly, on throwing one unpreoccupied regard on the greatest part of our continent, sir, on looking to Germany, to Austria, to Hungary—on looking to the indignities of Rome, or to that of Naples, the horrors of which Mr. Gladstone has lately with generous indignation shown—on looking in general to that Italy which cannot forbear to become furious when with its glorious remembrances it casts but one look into the mirror of its present horrible state—on casting a glance even over the great French nation, which the fairest fruits of three great revolutions, the glory outside and the freedom within, one by one beholds absorbed by centralising omnipotence—upon seeing all this, it is not possible, sir, that the unpreoccupied observer, to whatever party he may belong, should not be convinced this situation to be so unnatural, so much in contradiction with the laws of nature and the destinies of humanity,—it is in such striking opposition to the most sacred interests of millions, that it is entirely impossible to endure. And, besides, when we see the great and the petty tyrants, how they have paid their people for having been merciful to them, when the people might have been but just; and when we see how they are incorrigible, how they have nothing forgotten, nothing learnt; when we see, on the other side, how nations have by common suffering learnt that their fate is bound one for another in perfect solidarity; and out of this conviction what Christian brotherly love sprung up instead—the unhappy rivalries of old which formed the sole strength of the oppressors—sir, it is quite impossible not to feel that we are already on the eve of those days when the oppressed nations will hold the greatest court-day ever seen, before the verdict of which all artificial buildings of mankind's oppression will fall to dust.

The third anchor of my hope is the history of my nation. Our country has seen already many a storm, and still the Magyar lives, and still Buda stands. There was a time when one half of Hungary was under Turkish dominion, the other half under the iron rule of the Bastas or the Canatas, the model after which the Haynaus of the day—or I should rather say their masters—were formed. (*Cheers.*) The horrors of Arad are not the first bloody leaf in the house of Hapsburg's history; and still the Magyar is alive. (*Cheers.*) The house of Hapsburg has during more than three dreary centuries exhausted against us open force as well as all sorts of craft. It has fomented our discords, poisoned our habits, undermined our national character, lopped our freedom, robbed us of our rights. It has impoverished, weakened, oppressed us; and my nation has not perished yet. (*Much cheering.*) The single genius which has to be found in the house of Hapsburg—Joseph (but he of old,

and not the modern Francis Joseph)—bent his powerful mind to the design of Germanising Hungary, and of melting it into his empire; and our country, and our nationality, already by the preparative cunning of ungrateful Maria Theresa, cast back to the huts of the poor, did but with renewed strength out of the ordeal arise. (*Cheers.*) And even we, three years ago, the feeble offspring of mightier times, there we stood desiring nothing but peace, in order that the ant-like industry of the people may change into a paradise our country, stopped in its progress by long sufferings. There we stood, not only not suspecting treachery and royal perjury, but even then not willing to believe it, when it ought to have been believed; and, because not believing, there we stood unprepared to meet the danger which gathered in a frightful manner over us, and so we were attacked—and you know, gentlemen, how we were attacked, and we, secluded from the whole world—alas! forsaken by the whole world—without friends, without an army—four scanty ranks filled with treacherous elements, who delivered our fortresses—without money, without arms, without ammunitions—still we beat back the unjust assailant, yea, beat him down, that he flew to the foot of the Czar, mendicating his assistance to his impious design; which he obtained it is true, but had to pay for it all his hopes, all his future honour, independence, and dignity!

Who could think this Hungarian nation not to have yet a future, sir? Even the means by which it was oppressed did this future but assure. While the house of Austria, by the manner of its victory, and the manner of making use of that victory in Hungary, in Vienna, in Prague, in Italy, has doomed itself to certain fall—while the house of Austria, precisely by its victory, revealed its power to have no natural basis at all—meanwhile has my nation, precisely by its fall, to Europe revealed that she is necessary to Europe's security, as also by her glorious defence, she revealed her vitality. While the house of Austria, on the faith of his own crimes, is still sliding down, so as slide must he who came upon the bridge painted by Milton's master hand, my nation stands fast amidst all adversities, unshaken in courage, steady in resolution, firm in confidence. While the house of Austria, sliding along yonder fatal bridge, estranged from itself every people, hunted every race, every interest, and revolted against itself every sentiment from Schleswig-Holstein to Rome, from Hessen to Constantinople; meanwhile my nation has had to contend with millions of those who, stirred up by foul delusion, fought with the fury of extermination against us: now they all have learnt that their own freedom also is dwelling with us, that our oppression is but the tool of their own servitude; and they all look as fervently for the day of retribution as we ourselves. Could anybody earnestly think that these Magyars and all their fellow people, hunted to their very heart, the Bohemian, the Pole, the Croat, the Slavon, the Dalmatian, the Wallach, the Serb; yea, even the Lombard, and the Venetian also—the Lombard which Austria even now but with an iron glove dares to touch, and where Radetzky during three short years has immolated 3742 human lives on the scaffold; and yonder Venetian, who

cannot forbear to weep tears of blood, when he chances to look along from the Rialto—could anybody think that all these offended bleeding nations can lightly be melted together by the alchemists of Vienna in the crucible of united slavery?

With us, Hungarians, there have been alchemists of other stamp to make the same trial. Sir, men like Joseph the Second. But all in vain. Though Joseph has had what, to give in, makes amends to the people of Hungary—abolition of slavery, add liberty to conscience and to thought—still the trial failed. But Francis Joseph, what has he, the blood-stained child, to give to the down-trodden nations? Oppression at home, shame and curses abroad; one-and-a-half milliards of debts; an approaching bankruptcy; the monopoly of tobacco; heavy stamp duties; consumption taxes (the very name tells the nature of it); and all his other glorious inventions to drain the life-sweat of the people. These are his gift. And when the blunt murmurs of groans raised by these gifts, in spite of martial law, the hangman, and the state of siege, rises so high as to reach even the imperial palaces, do you know, gentlemen, what the consoling answer is? I will tell you with the very words of the most decided organ of Viennese politics: "It is told the Magyars are discontented. We know it well; but it was not our design to see them contented, but to see them pay." Horrible! This word gives the key of the unavoidable future in your hands, gentlemen. The house of Austria will not be loved, but paid. Well, Hungary will pay off all it owes to them. It will pay them, I swear in the name of the honour of my native land. There are some nations, sir, the situation of which, though very painful upon the whole, promise still some duration to the power; because at least some classes there are, the interests of whom are not hurt. In Hungary, sir, except some hundred foreign functionaries, there is not a single man, still less a single class, whose interests were not mortally hurt. Wounded is the nation's heart, conscience, religion, honour, nationality, freedom, memory—wounded in all that it held sacred and dear. Besides, wounded is the material interest of every class. The landlord and the agriculturist, the citizen and the soldier, the artist and the scholar, the workman, the merchant, the professionalist—all cut down to that poor Wallachian who lived upon some plum-trees, which he now cuts down to free himself from the heavy duties laid upon him. Elsewhere whole classes may be found who dread every change. In Hungary there is not a single class which the wise and honest Austrian government, by his paternal cares, had not driven to the point, to be forced to desire the most complete change, however desirable it may be.

And we have yet one thing not to forget. The people are merciful and generous. They can forgive those who govern, many a fault, as long as the faith to the rulers is not plucked out from their heart. But where there is no more such faith, there is no power on earth again to knit a lasting tie between the rulers and the ruled. Now that is the very case with Hungary. It experienced such faithlessness, such an injury from the dynasty, that the faith in the morality of this dynasty is to the last

root plucked out from his heart; so much so, that the nation holds the reign of right, law, and justice, impossible under the Hapsburgs. How should it not? Every day even now brings new falsehood, new treachery; every promise has turned out to be a lie, the Imperial word has become equivalent to perjury, and in addition, the people have been told that the Hapsburgs will have money and not love. As the Czar has brought the Hapsburgs to us, so Monk once brought the Stuarts back to you; but the faith was lost in their morality, and where are they now? Forsooth, I say, there is much likeness in our histories. We are now where you were after 1665. Only time went on. It will not last so long. Look to history. Restored dynasties have no future, sir; and in Hungary, after what it experienced, no monarchical combination has a future. But the house of Austria can have no future even beyond Hungary, because it has lost every natural basis of its existence, and that is a bad reason to claim further life. Had the house of Austria in 1848 been just towards the nations it rules, or wise towards the great German national family, it might have had a future yet; but while it deceived every one of its own nations, to Germany it rendered itself. Where will at last subside the fluctuations of great Germany's fate it is not for me to foretell; but sure as it is that they will somewhere subside, even so sure it is that the wedge-stone of it can never become yonder house of Austria, which threw itself away, to be a mere tool of Russian preponderance, which being a foreign one is also even as ambitious as despotic.

The rule of the house of Austria in Germany would therefore equally hurt as well the national feeling, as the sentiment of liberty in Germany (as even the intrigues for supremacy already show) without having even any glory to offer in exchange. The historical basis of taxation it has lost; the basis of the new era it refused to accept, how then should it continue to live? It had yet one artificial fancy of its existence, the idea of being necessary to Europe against Russian omnipotence, that Europe might not become Cossack, as Napoleon said. The idea was idle and false; because the guarantee of Europe could never be sought in one family, but in nations. The idea was a false one, but still it was. Where is it now? Since by asking and accepting Russian armed interference against Hungary, the house of Austria became a mere vanguard to Russian preponderance. Its existence not only cannot be necessary to Europe, but it turned to be rather dangerous to it, since it is precisely Austria that has thrown up in Europe the conventional public law and so-called system of equilibrium. So the house of Austria, bereft of all natural elements of life, has but three things to vegetate upon—loans, bayonets, and the Czar. Its eternal wars lead to bankruptcy—its armies are composed out of the sons of those nations which hate it as man hates the hand which the blood of his mother had spilt; and as to the Czar, Europe will not, cannot, admit him to rule on the banks of the Rhine, of the Danube, and of the Po.

Let, therefore, the house of Austria, proudly relying on its bayonets and its Czar, trample upon oppressed nations. I know that armies of to-day are not the condottieris of old—I know that the light has spread,

and even bayonets think—I know that all the Czars in the world are but mean dust in the hand of God—and so I firmly hope, nay I am certain, I shall yet see Hungary independent and free. You have to judge, gentlemen, by what I have had the honour to expose, if there be serious motives for that hope. But still one I have to add. The last not least of all. It is the sympathy, not only of every oppressed, but also of every free nation; it is the sympathy of the mighty English race, called to be the pillar of oppressed humanity, the younger offspring of which glorious race, those in the mighty republic of the new world, has put under the ban of mankind the oppressors of Hungary and sent a war-ship to conduct me out of my prison, while the elder brothers of that mighty race here in these glorious isles raised its powerful voice to break the chains which fettered my activity; and, upon my arrival on its happy shores, honours me with an attention almost unparalleled in history, and this too in the very moment when the blood-stained Hapsburgs, raging like an impotent furious child, let nail my name to the gallows. I feel not offended, sir! My honour is not dependent on Hapsburgian folly, Hapsburgian rage. There may be rather some glory in the idea to be hated and feared by bloody despots whom nations curse. I vow to do all where I can to merit this hatred, this fear. I have the honour to represent a principle, sir! The English race, in honouring me with its generous sympathy, has pronounced in favour of this principle. The Hapsburgs nail it to the gallows by a hangman's hand. It is a defy, it is a challenge of an arrogant tyrant, to the public opinion of the world; a defy to your sympathy, gentlemen; a defy to the generous sympathy the fate of my country is honoured with in this glorious land.

I fear not to be contradicted when I say, that it were a want of appreciation almost like an offence to the people of England, were I capable to think this sympathy to be nothing more than the passing emotion of noble hearts. No, sir! full well do I know that the sympathy of the people of England is no idle thing. If the people of England has once taken a direction, has once bestowed its sympathy, has bent its mind to anything, it will carry it—it will have out of it some practical result. This firmness of character, this untirable perseverance in every great and noble aim, is the true key of your country's greatness, gentlemen. So I rely upon it confidently, sir. What is it I could dare to look to as for a practical result of the people of England's generous sympathy for my native land? That is a matter which myself, an unpretending stranger, could but slightly dare to touch. (*Hear.*) But would I not too much tire you, I would beg leave, sir, briefly to state some few particulars out of the past, for future's sake. Before all, I have to insist upon the point, that the manner of taking such a view of the Hungarian revolution—as if in making it, anybody in the world could have had his hand in it—is an entirely false one. Let the word—Hungarian revolution—be a praise or a reproach, it is a matter of fact that we have made no revolution, sir.

Take a man who, confident in the protection of law, rests quietly in

his house; and the night-watch, instead of taking care that his tranquillity may be not disturbed, gives himself the incendiary torch to some fellow-lodgers of his house, and persuades them, by falsehood and promises, to burn his house and to murder him; and he, starting from his quiet rest, rushes from his room to put out the fire and to preserve his life; and he cries out for the very night-watch to help him in his legitimate defence; and this very night-watch brings an armed guard with himself, and instead of defending the injured man, calls him a traitor and a conspirator for daring to oppose the honest incendiary, the faithful murderer—yea, more, he joins the incendiary, and rushes on the injured man with his armed guards; and he, the poor injured man, calls together his brethren and his sons, beats down the incendiary, the murderer, the night-watch, and his guard. Is there any honest, any just man in the world who could charge the man with having committed an assault on the legitimate authority of the night-watch, sir? I have given you in this popular sketch the history of the past Hungarian war.

I beg not to be misunderstood. Sir, it is not the fear of the revolutionary question which makes me say this. I am a man of justice, right, and liberty, sir, and will be so my whole lifetime. Little do I care for, how the sworn enemies of justice, right, and liberty may call me, sir. Your Hampdens, your Russells, and Sidneys, were also called revolutionists in their turn; and so, may God bless me, I will never be longing for a brighter fame than theirs; still less would I see this disavowal applied to the future, sir. To be sure, I take a revolution for a very great misfortune, sir; but also highly I own that an oppressed people, seeing every other means of preservation fail, has a right to make a revolution. The people of England must acknowledge this truth, because the freedom and greatness of England derives from the practical success of this truth. Highly I own that my oppressed people is in this very case. But I look, sir, for a lively interest to verify a matter of fact, and to reduce the misrepresentations of tyrants and their satellites to their just value. All the like gossip about anarchy, about our having been most licentious demagogues, who were forming incendiary plots against the tranquillity of neighbouring states; about my despotic government carrying on Hungary with me by terrorism; and all other trivial phrases, in which soul-oppression of mankind excels, are entirely to be put on the same scale. Though the reign of the house of Austria over Hungary was three centuries ago but a continual series of perjury, and though it encroached immensely upon our rights, still we conserved some shadow of constitutional liberty. We enjoyed no freedom of the press, this mother as well as the chief guarantee of all progress; but still our municipal institutions afforded us a certain degree of self-government, and our county meetings and their publicity conserved to us the power of words. We were persecuted for its use, till it became almost "treason to love the country, and death to defend." But still we spoke; the people, though excluded from any share in these constitutional rights, and reduced to the scanty roll of mere spectators, but seeing still there were men struggling manfully for them and the rights of humanity—

even the people were generous patiently to endure and confidently to wait.

And so the Hungarian soil was not the soil of conspiracy, sir. My nation had, and has still, neither the will nor occasion to share in the movement of those new doctrines which disturb the sleep of the mighty of the earth. (*Hear.*) We have struggled fairly and openly, by the arms of truth and justice, for the social and political freedom of the people, as you have struggled for all those mighty reforms which helped to preserve your country from all dreadful concussions which never fail to arrive, wherever progress and reform have no fair course; we carried our reforms peacefully, availing ourselves of the opportunity which God has given, and which we made; we knew how to be just to the people, without regarding to what tongue he speaks, or in what church he prays; but the Hungarian people becoming master of his fate, was moderate enough to reserve his part to time, contented with gradual progress. With us there was nothing done by violent commotion; no equitable interests trodden down; and generously spared even those which though insignificant their origin, were interlaced with the private fortune of a whole class. The people of Hungary was rather inclined to undergo many sacrifices, than to punish the sins of former ages in the present generation, or the crimes of some few by the sufferings of whole classes. There was with us no trace of anarchy. In the midst of our war, in every part of Hungary which our victories brought back under our rule, order and security of person and property was far greater than that of which the "undermining" Austria can boast even now. And this was not my merit, sir, but the people's. Struggling on nine different sides, after the storm of battles passed from our region, and still it was for weeks not within the reach of my government; but the moral sense of the people, and his noble instinct, safe-guarded order and security. Very seldom I was in the case to use the authority of command; and when so, it was not the people but others who required it. To the people a word of advice, pointing out the necessity of the country, sufficed. The greatest force of our army was composed of volunteers; the stock of my financial operation was made out of free sufferings; our cannons were cast out of bells, which were offered in an embarrassing quantity. We defended ourselves, but attacked nobody; and secret designers were far from the straight spirit of my land. Austria and Russia took the neighbouring Turkish provinces for a basis of aggression against us. Whole armies of theirs have been thrown back of these frontiers; we had but to follow—and we had a right to do so, because the duties of neutrality had not been maintained—and the theatre of war would have been changed, yea, brought home to Russia itself; and yet we stopped; we respected the international rights, though towards ourselves nobody respected them. Austria concentrated all her disposable forces against us. Gallioia was entirely denuded. Had I but a feeble force thrown in, the flame of revolution might have been blown up amidst that heroic unhappy nation—the noble sacrifice of the morality of kings, as Johannes Müller has stated, which looks so fervently, and with so much right, for the day of retribution—and the flame of that revolution

might have spread over Russia itself ; but I took it for a crime to play with the blood of nations, and I refrained the sympathy of my heart, and scrupulously avoided to afford the slightest pretext to the ambitious views of the autocrat of the north.

Vain to count on morality in those quarters ! Sir, they knew full well that the heroic Poles desired to flock in thousands to join us ; but I did not accept them. I told them that we had a thousand times more hands than arms. The Czar knew very well that the heroes of Poland, who fought so valiantly in our ranks, scarcely amounted to four thousand men ; but still he styled the Hungarian struggle a Polish conspiracy, and charged us with plotting against the security of his empire. Well, he was enraged at the idea that it was a Polish hero, now lying in the cold grave of far Alepp, who beat down his bands in Transylvania. He wanted a pretence to set his impious foot on Europe's neck ; and not finding a pretence, he took it, sir. So was that Hungary, gentlemen, which the despots of Austria and Russia, and their numerous satellites, calumniated as the focus of disorder and anarchy. But, why were I dwelling upon these particulars, sir ? The reason is, that I have to attribute to these calumnies and misrepresentations, that during our past struggles we were not happy enough to meet that assistance in England which, I readily confess, I hoped to meet, and considering the interests, as well as the position, which your country so gloriously holds in the world, as also considering the known public spirit of the people of England, I claimed to be entitled to hope.

Unhappily, the people, as well as the government of England, has not been well informed, at the period of our greatest need, about the true nature of the Hungarian war ; about its high importance to Europe ; its importance to that Orient, which in so many respects enters into the dearest interests of Britannia, so as to be nearly its Achilles' heel. We were hermetically secluded, and chiefly at the very time when our struggle rose to European height. So either we were not in the case to afford the wanted explications, or the effect of those we could give was paralysed by adopted rules of diplomatical formalities. And have the kindness to excuse my poor country daring to make one humble remark : The people of England—the public opinion in England, was not very wont to be occupied with foreign affairs till now. Surely there might have been sufficient reasons to do so. The people of England has grown up from within. But already it has fully grown. This great empire has no more to fear any danger from within ; not as if there would be nothing more to do, but because by the freedom you enjoy, by your institutions, and by your public spirit, you are positively insured that whatever you may have yet to do, not only will be done, but also will peaceably be done within. Your fate is not depending upon any mortal's whims. Here you are, the only masters of your fate. But in respect to foreign relations, things are somewhat different ; every position in the world has its own conditions ; every time has its own wants. According as things actually stand, I dare confidently affirm, that amongst all your interior questions, there is not a single one which could outweigh in importance the external.

Nay, more, I am persuaded that all your great interior questions themselves are independent of your foreign-office. Danger can gather over England, not from within, but only from abroad.

Do not doubt me, gentlemen, that Albion, in its insular position, and with the self-confident knowledge of its immense power, does but laugh at the ambition of all conquerors of the earth. I know it, sir. Full well I know that Britannia, with the mighty trident in her powerful hands, is fully entitled—even more entitled than of yore—to proclaim with your great Shakspeare—

“This England never did, nor ever shall,
Lie at the proud feet of a conqueror.”

—I know this very well. But give me permission to ask yonder glorious thing, which we call the greatness of Britannia, is it but embodied within the material shores of these isles? Freedom, civilisation, your parliament, being the senate of whole parts of the earth—the principle of free trade—your due influence on the condition of Europe—your India, and many other considerations, are they not so many life arteries to Britannia? Let but one of these arteries be cut, and Britannia will not only no more be what it is, but these foreign questions will also powerfully re-act upon your interior. The catastrophe of freedom and civilisation abroad cannot fail to bring concussions home to you. Yea, these only things can call forth such concussions within which might endanger your own tranquillity, your own welfare, your own happiness. To break Britannia, it is not necessary to conquer these glorious isles. The very moment that Britannia should not weigh so much in the balance of the world as it must weigh, Britannia will be broken. The greater a body, the more vulnerable points it has. However you may trust to the present or any future government, or to the vigilance of your Parliament, I know the most efficient axle-point of your history to be that principle—that your Parliament and your Government receive direction from the public opinion, instead of giving direction to it. And I am fully confident, gentlemen, that your gracious Queen, as well as all constituted authorities, can but be glad to see the people pronounce in time their will which might compass them in the storm of those grand *événements*, the scent of which is already felt in the air.

The finger of God is over Europe stretched out. There are but two cases possible—the one is, that the crisis of approaching events will place the established governments one against another on Europe's continent. In this case England cannot rest indifferent. Should the fate of Europe happen to be decided without England's vote, England would be a European power no more. And should, in this crisis, reaction and despotism be the victors on the continent, it were not necessary to see the Cossacks watering their horses in the Thames in order that England should no more be great, glorious, and free. You are aware, I trust, that there is a solidarity in freedom now-a-days, because that struggle will not turn about particular points. The question will be, what principle shall rule over Europe—liberty or despotism? I know that in

that case the people of England will not side with despotism, but that it will side with liberty. But then the people of England, I humbly trust, will pronounce their will in time, that her silence might not be taken for irresolution or indifference. The second case is, that in the approaching crisis there will not stand states against states, nations against nations; but that the nations will make up accounts with their own rulers, and settle their own domestic affairs. What is it humanity expects in that case from Britannia? It expects that the people of England may not only respect (that is out of doubt), but shall make respected, the natural rights of nations; and should the Czar—requested or not requested, that cannot alter the matter—should the Czar once more threaten oppressed humanity, should he once more be willing to violate the sovereign independence of nations—should he once more be willing to take any pretence to put his foot on whatever people in the world he chooses, and to drown Europe's liberty in blood—humanity expects from the people of England that it will shake its mighty trident, and shout out a powerful "Stop!" like yonder Perfidius of old. Be sure, gentlemen, this single word—spoken with the resolution to be as good as your word—this single word will suffice. It will cost you neither money nor blood. Yea, by that single word, by the will to speak so, made known in time, you will have saved the lives of myriads, averted much bloodshed, and given liberty to the world. A glorious power! A glorious calling!—nearly divine!

The short moral of my long speech, gentlemen—there it is. The Russian intervention in Hungary has put the foot of the Czar upon Europe. As long as Hungary shall not be restored to its sovereign liberty and independence, as long as Italy shall not become free, that foot of Russia will rest on Europe's neck—yea, it will step from the neck upon the head, and there will be in Europe neither peace nor tranquillity, but a continual boiling-up volcano, and Europe a great barrack and a great bloodfield. The cause of Hungary is the cause of civil and religious liberty. (*Cheers.*) I say of religious liberty, and therefore not religious exclusion or sectarianism—(*hear, hear*)—but free liberty to all—common liberty and protection to every religion alike. (*Renewed cheers.*) I, as you know, am a Protestant—(*hear, hear*)—and not only a Protestant by birth and education, but a Protestant by conviction—(*cheers*)—but I here declare that I would struggle with equal enthusiasm to obtain religious liberty for Catholics as for Protestants, and for the protection of all men in the exercise of their religious convictions. (*Cheers.*) My opinion is that the Church should not meddle with politics, and that Government should not meddle with religion. That is my creed. (*Great cheering, waving of handkerchiefs, and cries of "Bravo!"*) I wish not to be misunderstood. It is possible that, with my inadequate command of the English language, I may so express myself as to convey an impression different from that I intend. Yesterday, and on previous occasions, I have said that the papal priestly government of Rome is the worst of human institutions, and I am led to fear that I may have given some offence to some well-meaning persons, who may have understood

these words in a different sense from that in which they were intended. What I meant to say was, that the Church should not meddle with politics, and that as a political government, a government for secular purposes, a priestly government was the worst government ever invented. (*Hear.*) But I say, on the subject of religion, I object to any one interfering with mine, and I wish not to interfere with that of any other man. (*Hear, hear.*)

I differ in my view with many as to Church property. To me the principle of property is sacred. When I was in power in Hungary there was no confiscation, no meddling with Church property, but an anatomy of the whole Church. I would have the Church dispose of its own property by means of its own dignitaries and its own offices, but I would have them dispose of it so as to promote the efficiency of the Church, and not to leave the working curates on 30*l.*, which it is clear no man can live on, while bishops were receiving thousands. (*Cheers.*)

Some have questioned the capabilities of Hungary to maintain herself as an independent nation. But she has all the elements of independence. She has 4000 German square miles. She has a population brave and industrious. (*Hear, hear.*) She has no debt of her own—and Hungary is not liable for the debts of Austria. True, we created a debt during our recent struggle, but the house of Austria burnt the greater part of it, so (thanks to them) we are free from that. (*Cheers and loud laughter.*) Then Hungary is, in consequence of her municipal institutions, accustomed to cheap government. Municipal government is always cheap, while centralised governments are always dear. Again, she has great resources; she is rich in mines, so much so that she could supply the whole world with the purest salt for ten thousand years. Then she has large national estates which might be distributed so as to increase the revenues materially. The principle of self-government, is so strongly implanted in the Hungarian that nothing will eradicate it. I would impress on Englishmen that the freedom of Hungary is intimately connected with the question of freedom in Europe and the principle of self-government, and I hope that Englishmen, while they will not interfere in the self-government of foreign nations, will determine not to allow other countries to interfere. (*Cheers.*) To this extent I wish to see the people of this country turn their attention to foreign affairs, and that they may exercise their influence to spread the principles of freedom and self-government. Mind that with every down-beaten nation one rampart of liberty falls. (*Cheers.*) The people of Birmingham have ever been the champions of freedom. In Birmingham the political union which carried the Reform Bill emanated; and in olden time, when the principle of liberty was threatened by Charles I., Birmingham made a successful stand against Prince Rupert.

I rely, then, on the sympathy—the active sympathy—of the men of Birmingham. (*Cheers.*) I rely upon it confidently. I rely upon it in the name of all who suffer oppression, and languish for freedom, like my people and myself. All they are my brethren whatever tongue they speak, whatever country they call their home. Members of the great

family of mankind, the tie of blood is strengthened between us by common sufferings. To be sure I have not the pretension to play the part of Anacharsis Klotz before the convent of France. You are not the convent of France, and myself also, humble as I am, still I am no Anacharsis Klotz; but my sufferings, sir, and the nameless woes of my native land, as well as the generous reception I enjoy, may perhaps entitle me to entreat you, gentlemen, to take the feeble words I raise to you out of the bottom of my own desolation,—take it for the cry of oppressed humanity crying out to you by my stuttering tongue. People of England! do not forget in thy happiness our sufferings; mind in thy freedom those who are oppressed; mind in thy proud security the indignity we endure; remember the fickleness of human fate—remember that those wounds with which our nations bleed, they are so many wounds inflicted to that principle of liberty which makes thy glory and thy happiness; mind that there is a tie in mankind's destiny; be thanked for the tear of compassion thou honourest with our mournful past, but have something more than a tear, have a brother's hand to our pressure to give!

SPEECH AT THE HANOVER SQUARE ROOMS.

M. KOSSUTH returned to London on Thursday, November 13th. On that day he made his final public speech, before leaving this country for America, to a meeting at the Hanover Square Rooms, Lord Dudley Stuart in the chair. On this occasion he spoke as follows :—

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—Some few weeks ago, I myself might perhaps have shared the opinion of the correspondent of the *Augsburg Gazette*, referred to by your chairman. So much felt I in heart on approaching the glorious shore of England—that shore which makes every man free—so much felt I at the idea that I should have to speak publicly in your language, that I myself would have subscribed to the opinion of the correspondent,—that I could not speak English at all. I have, I know, but an imperfect knowledge of your language, and if I am able to address you at all, it is because there is a hidden sentiment and a hidden spark in the breast which unites our thoughts. (*Cheers.*) But I am sure you will have indulgence for the accent and pronunciation of a foreigner. (*Hear, hear.*)

When I came amongst you, all but quite ignorant of your language, the Holy Ghost of freedom seemed to be poured out, and liberty came upon me (*loud cheers*)—that liberty, gentlemen, which being the common bond of mankind, constitutes the union of heart with heart (*cheers*)—and therefore words of freedom and liberty, though uttered with a faltering tongue, are always appreciated. (*Cheers.*) But I confess I was not prepared to see such a glorious meeting as the present, or that I should have the high honour of receiving so many and such warm expressions of sympathy; for though I knew that addresses were to be presented to me, I was not prepared to receive them in such a place, at such a meeting, and under such circumstances. If on other occasions I was not prepared with words, I was not unprepared with ideas, but I trust you will excuse me if on the present occasion I am unprepared even with ideas. I shall therefore only endeavour to address to you a few words on the topics which the addresses, as they were read, brought home to my mind.

But, in the first place, let me assure you of my deep gratitude and thanks for your kindness to me on this the last occasion I may have of

addressing you before my departure to your younger brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, with whom I beseech you to live like brothers, for then most assuredly the freedom of mankind will arrive. You must allow me to answer the ladies first, because politeness and the warm sentiments they have expressed require me to do so. Ladies, you have a glorious lot assigned to you by destiny; for the Author of Nature has decreed that every man, whomsoever he may be, whatever his condition, whatever his fate, should bear throughout his life the seal which the angelic hand of a mother has impressed upon him. The ladies of a country mirror its character. (*Cheers.*) They are our refuge from the cares of life; and when we fall into adversity, where do we withdraw for consolation, but to you and to your sympathies? I speak as I found them. (*Vehement cheering.*) And if the struggle for a noble cause is unhappily surrounded with difficulties unforeseen, where is the source from which man draws new strength? Your approbation, ladies—your smile. (*Cheers.*) God bless you, ladies, for having given me this approbation. Here, I swear, before you and the Almighty God, that you have added strength to my strength, and that I will go on in my work, to the last moment of my life, truly, honestly, and energetically.

You mention in your address the difference of reception between Haynau and myself. (*Laughter.*) Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have such a strong feeling of duty that the word merit is almost unknown to me. I cannot quite understand what it is to have merit, because I consider every good which a man can do to be a duty. (*Cheers.*) Therefore, having this idea of duty, I can say that I feel no pride in any comparison whatever; but so much of a noble self-esteem I have, as to believe that I cannot be put in comparison with such a man as Haynau. (*Cheers.*) I esteem it an honour to be thus received by a meeting that cheered the allusion to what was done by the noble fellows who acted towards that man in the way you know. (*Laughter.*) High functionaries may feel scandalised when they hear the thundering voice of a sound-thinking people speaking not in the tone of an Æolian harp. (*Much laughter.*) What I know is, that the instinct out of which that deed arose so spontaneously, is a noble instinct—an honour to humanity (*cheers*)—it is a revelation of man's divine origin, in the form of hatred against cruelty and despotism, and of respect for human rights. (*Much cheering.*)

Ladies and gentlemen, I quite feel the importance of this day. I have not seen the fiftieth part of the great people of England, and but very few of the million and a half inhabitants of London who are represented on this occasion. I know, too, that it is not my presence which elicits these sentiments. I came to receive, and not to create them. (*Cheers.*) In every case, it is not my pride that is to be shown, but the respect due to the people of England. (*Hear, hear.*) I say that the public opinion of England has pronounced—(*loud cries of "Yes"*)—and so surely as England is a constituent country, so surely this public opinion must and will be obeyed. (*Great cheering.*) In what this public opinion should and will be obeyed, of course I, an unpretending stranger, cannot even slightly touch upon; but so much I know, that this public opinion has

pronounced in favour of freedom—in favour of the sovereign right of nations to dispose of their domestic concerns ; and, this being done, I confidently hope that the same public opinion will find out practical means of arriving at a practical result. (*Hear, hear.*) It is but desultory ideas that I can utter ; and therefore you must kindly excuse me. I feel that there is no connexion in these ideas. (*Cheers.*)

In one of the addresses which I have had the honour to receive, I was told that we in Hungary have fought for those institutions which you possess. Without entering further into the matter, I must beg your generous pardon for making a single remark. When I heard the names mentioned, I wondered that these five places, with one million and a half of inhabitants, have not yet the full enjoyment of municipal institutions. (*Cheers, and a shout, "We mean to have them."*) Of course, it is not competent to me to speak on this matter. I would only say, that I believe that that sympathy for freedom, which the generous English people have been so kind as to manifest since I have had the honour to be on English soil, is very strongly united with municipal institutions. (*Hear, hear.*) I am of course very anxious to see in some way secured the continuation and further development of that public opinion which is, and promises to be, so highly beneficial ; and, with this anxiety, I believe I can do nothing better than remind you that the principle of freedom is identical, is synonymous, with the principle of self-government. This word "self-government" brings home, I believe, to the mind of every man practically what is meant by freedom ; and so highly interested is every man who would not be either a bondman or a tyrant, in self-government, that if the people of England are entirely penetrated with the sentiment, then the public opinion of England will not fall asleep after these demonstrations, but will go on, and on, and on, and yet on, upon every fitting occasion, until we shall see arising out of this constitutional pronouncement of the public opinion of the English people, those consequences which you, my lord, have put forward by the very expressive illustration of the boys' quarrel. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)

I have only one thing to mention with regard to the past. Have the struggles of Hungary met with the sympathy of the people of England ? I believe they have. (*Cries of "Yes, yes."*) What benefit has Hungary derived from this sympathy ? (*Hear, hear.*) Why has she had none ? Because to the big boy was not spoken the sentence, "Thou shalt not do it." (*Cheers.*) Had Nick—(*laughter*)—been told that in time,—had the sympathy of England in time thus bestirred itself, I confidently state, and history will approve my words, that it would not have cost England a single shilling, or a single drop of blood, and Hungary would now be independent and free. We want help ; sympathy alone can produce no effect. What I want is, not to see England take up arms and to go and fight for Hungary ; we will fight for ourselves, if it be our destiny. To fight I consider not as a glory, but as a misfortune ; but still there are duties in the life of a man, and duties in the life of nations, under which the misfortune is far, far less than oppression. There are cases in which it becomes obedience to the law of God—in which it becomes obedience to the law of nations—in which it becomes a duty to fight.

Before leaving England, this will be my last public opportunity of addressing the people of England, of whom you represent so large a portion; and, therefore, I wish to speak plainly. I entreat your attention, not to myself, but to my principles. There is not a single one which is not connected with the victory or the downfall of the principle of liberty in the world. When the public opinion of England proceeds to put in action those levers of the omnipotency of public spirit which were moved to secure progress and reform, when you are dealing with any internal question, I humbly entreat you to remember that all such matters are connected with the freedom of the world. If there be going on an agitation for reform, whatever reform it may be, remember that reform will never and nowhere have a free course if the power of absolutism continues encroaching. (*Hear, hear.*) If meetings assemble to pass resolutions on reform questions—and it is not for me to say what those questions may be—I only ask for my country the right which I concede to Englishmen of managing their internal affairs. I speak generally. Remember what I say. Because we are convinced that it is only a fair course of reform and progress which can secure the world against concussions dangerous to social order and to the great and holy principles of security to person and property; and because we feel that reform and progress nowhere can have a fair course while the principle of absolutism is permitted to encroach upon mankind's destinies; therefore we humbly petition the Parliament and the Government of this country that the rights of every nation may be respected by England, and respected by every power in the world.

Take, for instance, trade questions. Many of you gentlemen meet, perhaps, it may be in your council, it may be in your Chamber of Commerce—I don't know by what names may be called those places where men meet to discuss and to consider interests highly important not only to the country, but also to humanity—I speak now chiefly on matters of trade. I humbly consider that on such occasions you cannot forget that the question of free trade is in intimate connexion with the question of the freedom of the world. I ask that when, for example, on such occasions men take into their hands the statistical calculations of English commerce in Europe, and when they see that English commerce is from year to year in Europe lessening and lessening, and when they see that English industry loses in the markets of Europe every year, every day, again and again I humbly ask that those who meet would consider, not my words, but consult their own understandings, and put to themselves the question, "What is the reason, what is the motive, of these unhappy circumstances?" and I am confident they will come to the conclusion that absolutism cannot admit of free trade with a free people, because it would then very soon cease to be absolutism. (*Hear.*) Having perceived that the commerce of England is decreasing every year on the continent of Europe, because absolutism is gaining ground there every year, I ask that men who meet on the basis of their commercial interest would remember not myself but the coincidence which there is between their own interest and the Hungarian interest; and when they have passed I don't know

what resolution in respect to their own interest, let them add some such words as these:—"We, bankers, merchants, and manufacturers, are alarmed at the circumstance that the markets for the industry and trade of England are decreasing every year in Europe; and having looked into the cause of this, and having discovered it to be that the European continent is not free, we have come to the conclusion that cheap bread alone is not free trade, and that free trade is prevented by absolutism; and we will therefore petition the Parliament and the Government to act so that no foreign power may hinder the nations from becoming free, and from opening their markets to free trade with England." (*Cheers.*)

And then there is the Peace Association, inspired, no doubt, with the most noble and philanthropic motives. But now let us look at the moral meaning of the terms "murder" and "robbery." It is no smaller imputation before God and before mankind that murder goes on by thousands than that it is committed upon one person. (*Hear, hear.*) I believe those great robbers and murderers to whom I allude are not less criminal than those who rob and murder in the streets. There are some quarters of the world where men bow with respect before such robbers and murderers—(*laughter*)—persons who would hang a poor man for having stolen a loaf of bread. Well, now, the Peace Association, animated by the most noble and philanthropic principle, meets, I will suppose, and looks around. How does it find human life secured? One of the sacred principles of that association is the inviolability of human life. It takes into its hands the statistics of the world, and finds that in Russia the average of human life is only 25 years, whereas in England it is 46 years; while in the United States, though a great part of the country being new, is as yet unhealthy, the average is 35 years. When this comes before their eyes they will see that in Russia, in consequence of the condition of the people, which is not happy because not free, and, not being free, cannot develop even its material resources for its own benefit,—they will see that there two-and-a-half millions of persons die annually; whereas, if the average of human life were as great in Russia as in England, the deaths would not amount to above a million-and-a-half. And, therefore, when the Peace Association sees that yearly in Russia, in consequence of the absolutist principle, one million of human lives are sacrificed to the Moloch of despotism, I believe that that association also, from a logical consideration of the inviolability of human life, will pass a resolution and say, "Because we love peace, and because we consider human life inviolable, therefore we humbly petition the Parliament and the Government that the nations may not be hindered by any foreign interference from becoming free, and when they have become free, we shall have the high philanthropic gratification of knowing that the average of human life even in those countries is not what it is now in the present terrible peace—a peace more terrible than the most cruel war." (*Cheers.*)

How the Peace Society could agree to such a principle I do not know; for I have yet to learn that any despot would give up his absolutist power except when he is forced to it. And therefore, for the sake of

peace itself, and the inviolability of life, we must force them to abandon their despotism. (*Cheers.*) The infernal fiend will never become an angel. (*Hear.*) And therefore Hungary, when the hour comes, must take advice from her own strength and her own right arm. But Russia must not be allowed to interfere. As with regard to peace and the security of life, so again with regard to municipal rights, reform, cheap food, freedom of industry, freedom of education, and religious liberty, these can only be secured when despotism is overthrown. (*Hear, hear.*)

Some of the addresses which have been read have reminded me of the martyrs who fell in the cause of Hungary. I thank you for your warm and generous sentiments towards them. I have known those martyrs, they were my friends, and I, who knew their sentiments, tell you, gentlemen, that if there be a tie between those regions where angels dwell and this earth, and if they know what is passing here below—these martyrs in the cause of Hungary will in spirit rejoice that out of their blood has sprung up already an accident—no, not an accident but a blessing—which will secure the freedom of the world—and if, in consequence, there has sprung up a brotherhood amongst nations, they will be consoled, because that time will be the future of my native land. (*Loud cheering.*) With great gratitude I see that you and the United States do not look upon each other, as you did some time ago, with sentiments of revenge, but with a feeling of brotherhood. And what is brotherhood? Is it not that which is laid down in the eternal word of God, and which teaches “that you should love your neighbour as yourself.” (*Cheers.*) Out of this single fact I prophesy that the high principle of individual morals will in future be the morals of nations. (*Loud cheers.*)

I took notes of other points in the addresses which you have read, but the paper was so thin that I cannot read the ideas I put down. But as I have addressed you so much already, I hope you will excuse me, the more particularly as I have been just addressing the people of Manchester and Birmingham at great length, and have not had time to collect my ideas. (*Hear, hear.*) I can only say that I have devoted my life to the cause of Hungary and to the freedom of the world, and I am sure it will be a higher pleasure to you to know that I intend to employ all my time in promoting those objects than if I were to go on speaking to you with a bad pronunciation. But though my words and pronunciation be bad, my soul is true—(*cheers*) ; and, thank God, my heart is true to the principle of freedom and liberty—the freedom of all, for all, and through all—(*cheers*) ; and while inspired by these sentiments my head and my arm will be ready at all times to give effect to those principles which are the very root of my life.

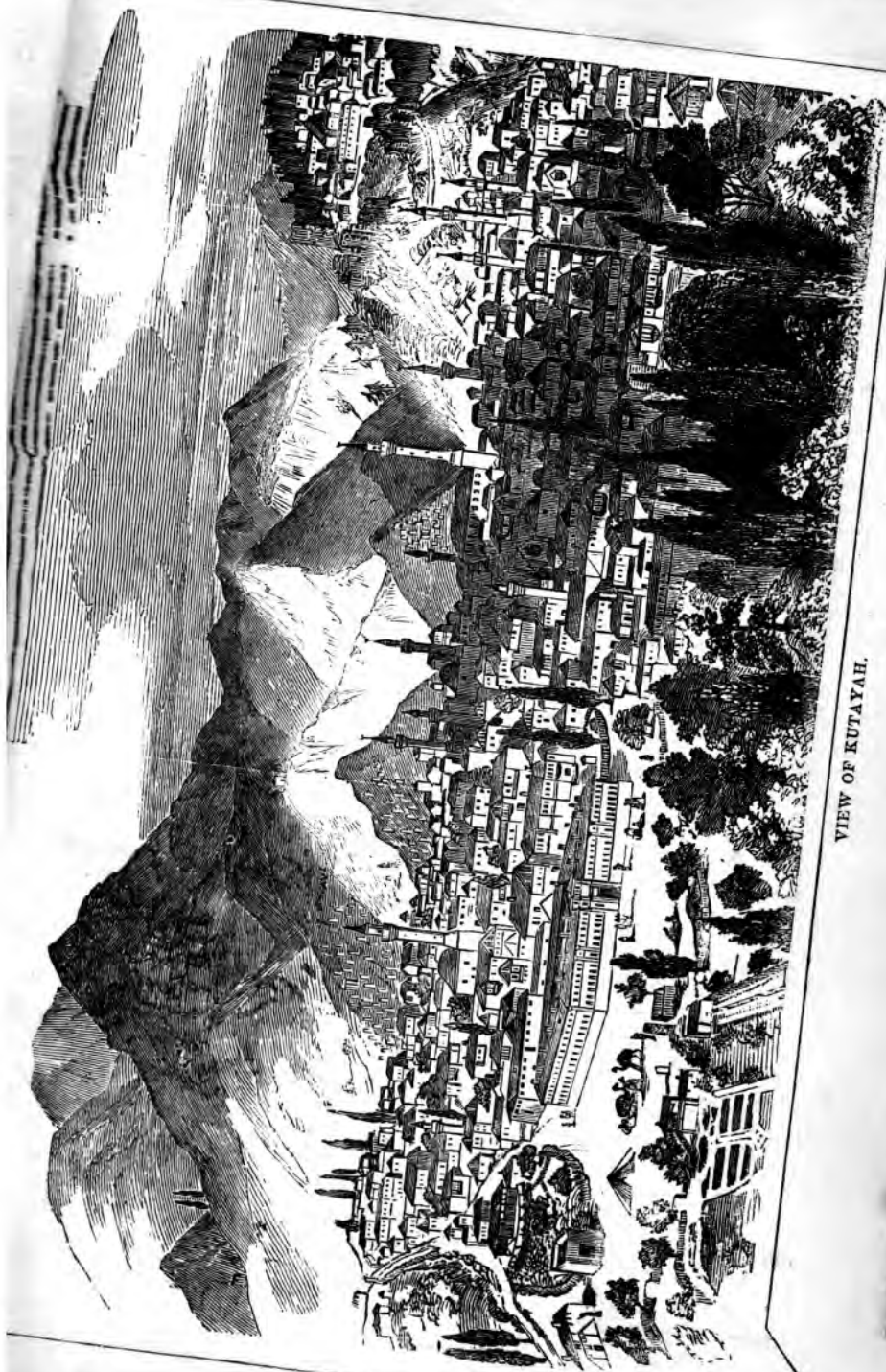
SPEECH AT SOUTHAMPTON,

ON HIS DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA.

HIS incessant labours in speaking, receiving deputations, correspondence, and private consultation, had so wearied Kossuth, that many points intended to have been dwelt upon at length in his parting speech were but touched upon. The important lesson to England of the speech was the secrecy of diplomacy, which hands over the whole influence of this country for good or evil amongst foreign powers to the one individual who may chance to be at the head of the Foreign Office.

MR. MAYOR,—may I be allowed to add, my generous friend—(*Cheers.*)—ladies and gentlemen, it is true that I labour under the weariness, not of indisposition, but of many sleepless nights, to which must now be added some slight qualms of sea sickness, for I am the worst sailor in the world. (“*You must learn.*”) Yes, I will try to learn. (*Cheers and laughter.*) I must only adopt the maxim of that celebrated English general, although I am not at present in a condition to do so, who said, “Put your trust in God, my boys, and keep your powder dry.” (*Cheers and laughter.*)

I offer in my own humble person a curious specimen of the whims of fate. My own inclinations have always driven me towards tranquillity and retirement and the comforts of private life; but duty has ever pushed me into action, and I believe it is the destiny and the most sacred duty of every man not to listen to his inclinations or his affections when the great cause of humanity and of fatherland calls him into action. (*Loud cheers.*) So when I arrived four weeks ago in England, had I listened to my inclinations, I should have desired to land unknown and unremarked; but knowing that when the people of England had resolved to cheer me, theirs would be no mere personal cheering, but the deep-felt ones given to the principles of liberty, I was anxious rather to meet the



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favouring stream of public opinion, than to retire into that concealment which so much better would have suited my own personal inclinations. (*Hear, hear.*)

And knowing that no merit could be mine, I felt that I might perhaps pass through England, melting away like the girl's sigh upon the breeze; but I was met everywhere by the loud cheers of the people, and you, Mr. Mayor, were the first and most generous representative of the national feeling. (*Loud cheers.*) You met me upon the sea with a cheer which has since followed and carried me through England. (*Loud cheers.*) Animated by such cheers, by your kind welcome, and by the principles of liberty, I rose with so sudden a strength, that even your government—as I believe it is the duty of every government—felt bound to acknowledge the weight of public opinion, and in some degree to follow it. (*Hear, hear.*)

So, four weeks ago, Southampton was to me, and in my humble self, the cause of freedom, the power which gave to my ears the trumpet sounds of hope. Now, when I leave Southampton, I shall remember that out of that trumpet note has grown up the cannons' roar in acknowledgment of a great public principle, and I give you my word, in the name of a generous nation, that the land which with your cannon you have this day saluted as a living nation, will yet be entitled to the honour. (*Loud cheering.*) But confidently believing that all these manifestations had really some practical end, that they were not merely the passing emotion of noble hearts, permit me, gentlemen, to make one remark now in the last moment of my adieus.

It is to remind you that public opinion is only strong and powerful when it is kept alive. Public opinion is nothing from the moment it falls asleep, but it is all powerful when it continues to show a watchful eye, and that people are not forgetting either the deeds of governments, the passing things and circumstances of the world; or that those institutions of freedom which have the approbation of the people of England, are intimately connected with the development of freedom all over the world. (*Hear, hear.*) You, gentlemen, have shown that you feel the force of this remark, and for your sentiments and for the pronouncement of them, for which I myself have given the humble opportunity, let me most sincerely thank you, but let not your sympathy be content with pronouncing itself. I hope you will live to pronounce it again and again. (*Loud cheers.*) Pronounce it so that the mighty of the earth shall see that it is the earnest will of the people of England to be as good as their word, and if it be so kept alive, it is not my belief—it is my solemn persuasion, that it will be your proud boast to have spread the blessings of freedom throughout the world. (*Loud cheers.*)

The mode and matter is very clear, gentlemen. On every occasion upon which I had the honour to address the people of England I mentioned the principle of non-interference—not unilateral non-interference—which, in other words, makes a market of national liberties and of humanity—but that by which a free and mighty nation makes respected the rights of nations, and in respect to that principle I wish

you to consider what is the present condition of France—republican France. (*Hear, hear.*) I am entirely convinced that in Europe it is precisely England that will decide the next future of the world, and the crisis that is approaching. The republicanism of France is in such direct antagonism to the despotism of Russia, that Russia must feel—instinctively must feel—that sooner or later the absolutist principle of Russia must meet the republican principle of France. This must therefore be considered as a fatality—a necessity—by Russia; and, whether she pleases or not, she must accept it. Now seeing that Russia must accept the necessity—that in no case she can avoid it, or shrink from the meeting of these two principles—the danger of meeting France in the battle-field will not hinder Russia from seeking to put down republican principles in Hungary. Therefore the idea of the great and mighty French nation is no barrier against the intentions of Russia, because it knows that ultimately the absolutistic and republican principles must meet in the death struggle. So, in considering the question of intervention, Russia, knowing she must meet France, looks to the feeling of other powers, and asks “What will England do?” And if Russia sees that the public opinion of England has so pronounced itself as to make it certain that in interfering she will not only have to meet the French, but English power, then she will not interfere. (*Hear, hear.*)

I will not go so far as to say that such pronouncement will hinder war, but war between two established powers, and interference in the internal affairs of a nation are two different things, both in their origin and their results. (*Hear, hear.*) Therefore, it is my conviction, that the power in Europe of arresting Russia rests with England, and that England can decide on the direction of the affairs of Europe.

And now, gentlemen, it is a happy condition of things to know that all those peculiar and scanty views, I might perhaps, add, egotistical views of the olden times, have vanished before the enlightened spirit of the present generation; and it is happy, that the increased development of the human intellect, must show that even true egotism which is not an immoral feeling can only be satisfied when man seeks to secure the gratification of his own personal wishes in harmony with the wants and wishes of mankind and of nations. (*Hear, hear.*) And looking at the question from that point of view, it is a happiness to see what are the real wants and wishes of mankind. In other words, to put an abstract idea into a practical form, it is happy to see that social freedom, political independence, and self-government, are alike opposed to centralisation and despotism. (*Hear, hear.*) Depend upon it, that the principle of self-government is the only one that can give security to the person, to freedom, and to the progress of reform. In a word, the principle of self-government can alone, even in domestic matters, ensure happiness.

Therefore, it is my humble wish, that I bequeath to you as my testament—do not forget poor Hungary—(*loud cheers, which lasted for several minutes*)—do not forget those principles of independence which must be dear to every son of freedom—in a word, self-government. And do not forget that public opinion is only powerful when incessantly kept

alive. Therefore, remember for what occasion you meet, and whatever future meetings you may have, do not forget that you cannot meet on any public topic which is not intimately connected with the principle of freedom; and when you make resolutions settling domestic matters—perhaps a further development of municipal institutions—which, I may almost say, I feel in the air as the coming topic for the next agitation of the public mind of England, let it be your meeting to settle that question; let it be an investigation into the state of trade in England, and the cause of its decrease; or may be a meeting for the further development of political reform, which you can struggle for in endless peaceful progress, undisturbed by those dreadful concussions which elsewhere interfere with the peace of the world; or let it be a meeting to realise the results of free-trade, a result not realised yet—whatever question you meet to discuss, remember my poor Hungary, and that the principle of self-government is a great link to bind you to the cause of humanity—(*hear*) remember my poor country, and in your resolutions do not forget her condition.

Proclaim your wishes and your desires. I will not carry you on to the necessity of war, because, if you emphatically declare your will, a real manly will, it is sure to be obeyed. (*Hear, hear.*) In some weeks I have the intention to return from the United States, although, of course, you must feel that powerful links will hold me there—links of gratitude—links of identity of principle—because I have publicly avowed the form of government which I intend to carry out in my own country. These are many and strong links; but I will hasten back, because the experience I have had here in England enforces on my mind the conviction that in a very short time the field of action will be open, and he whom, seeing unfortunate, you have sympathised with, and raised by your manifestations of respect, will very soon return from the United States, and I hope that in returning I may be the happy messenger of glad tidings—that I may bear the news that the United States of America, answering to your words of unity, will join with England to guarantee against the community of despotism the community of liberty. (*Loud cheers.*)

Then, gentlemen, my return will be not only a source of happiness to me, but may form a new era. I have almost a confidence that I may be selected as a messenger of the will of the United States, declaring that the liberties of Europe shall be preserved, notwithstanding their momentary failure. These principles of brotherly love which have so generally replaced the rivalries of old, I was here in a condition to witness, as well as the difference between the government and people of England, and between the government and people of France, because governments are not always the types of the people. (*Loud cries of "Hear, hear."*) But, between these two principles, of the old rivalry which is passing away, and the brotherly love which is replacing it, we can hardly help reflecting upon what fools we must have been to indulge in such rivalries. (*"Hear, hear," and cheers.*) We have nothing to fear from free peoples, who, being never unjust, have themselves nothing to fear. Why, then, should we be such fools as to be the tools of

ambition, keeping up the old rivalries, which are the only means left to ambitious men for the conservation of their power. (*Hear, hear.*) I am glad, then, to see this propensity to unite in intention for the cause of freedom, and, if needs be, in action. (*Loud cheers.*)

Of course I must have felt that the feeling would develop itself more towards the United States than to other people, because blood is blood; and although there may be momentary quarrels in a family, blood will soon resume its rights, and exclaim, "Brother, why are we quarrelling?" (*Loud cheers.*) You are bound together hand in hand to restore mankind to the great destiny appointed for them by the providence of God. Prosperous you two brothers are,—living proofs that the principle lies not so much in the form of government, but that it is the institutions that make a people free, and that it is public spirit which builds up the institutions to make people free and happy under different forms of government. (*Loud cheers.*)

I hope to God I shall find this union cemented on returning to Europe, because I feel in my conscience that the time approaches for the active accomplishment of your duty. I hope to God that perhaps my humble self may be the bridge above which America may stretch its powerful arm over to Europe, saying, "Thou ancient and oppressed nations of the European continent, here we are, great and powerful, here is a brother's hand." (*Loud cheers.*) I hope I shall meet in England, also, another brother's hand, which, uniting with America, will give good hope for the destinies of humanity—hope that they may be saved without the sacrifice of blood. But if the support of these two great nations be not given to a suffering world, then the results will be bloody and uncertain, and, being uncertain, would nearly touch the interests of England herself. Yes, I repeat it, the development of the liberties of Europe has the most intimate connexion with the development of freedom in England herself. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, before I conclude I owe it to myself and the cause which I so unworthily represent, to state one thing. Since I have enjoyed the privilege of living in England it has been my rule not to mix myself up with any of your interior questions; even when I was very nearly touched by a question, still I remained silent. But within these few days I have read in the public papers a declaration of a high official character, about the facts of the past, and concerning what has been the policy of England respecting Hungary and the Hungarian exile.* These

* It was, we believe, the intention of Kossuth at this part of his speech to have explained at length the mystery of British policy in the Hungarian struggle, but that he felt his strength insufficient for the task. His reference has regard to the reply of Lord Palmerston to the addresses presented by deputation, thanking him for the safety of the Hungarian. The following letter from Kossuth throws some light upon the subject:—

"As another gift of this fatal anniversary (April 12, arrival at Kutayah) of my arrival here, is a letter containing extracts from the Blue Book. I have read the despatch to Lord Ponsonby (6th October) where Lord Palmerston says that the Sultan has duties of good neighbourhood to fulfil towards the States which compose the Austrian empire. His lordship seems to have forgotten that in the manifesto issued by Francis I., which constitutes the Austrian empire, Hungary is excepted as not

declarations impose upon me the necessity of saying something, lest my silence should be misinterpreted. If I am not more explicit, I beg of you to attribute it to the peculiar necessities of my position, and besides, it is only necessary for your information that you should study the blue books. I will say no more; let us not speak of the past; every man has his virtues and his faults, and I myself have committed many faults, which I am not ashamed to acknowledge. Let us not, then, look to the past, except for instruction, where we can study from the book of life, full of mournful instruction for us all. There in that open book we can learn that whenever a great and free nation forgets, though only for a moment, a brother's duty towards humanity, the enemies of the liberties of mankind raise their powers on this oblivion, and proceed with gigantic steps, so that very soon those free nations may be menaced in their most vital interests. (*Hear, hear.*)

That is the instruction we may derive from the past; let us not look to it for any other purpose; but let the people of England pronounce again and again resolutely and manfully in favour of the liberties of mankind. (*Loud cheers.*) That direction of the policy of England will never depend upon personalities, because in a free country the people must be masters, and that is the distinctive meaning of the word "constitution." Constitution means where the will of the people directs the public government of the country. (*Hear, hear.*) Therefore the question depends not upon personalities, but upon the public spirit of the people of England, which I am confident will ever be on the side of humanity. (*Loud cheers.*)

One word as to the secrecy of diplomacy, the source of the present

belonging to the Austrian empire. He must have forgotten that the treaty of Szathmar, which stipulates the independence of Hungary, was under the guarantee of England in 1711. Does his lordship, in the meantime, give the like advice to Russia and Austria to fulfil the duties of good neighbourhood towards the Sultan? and is it on this account that Austrian agents and Russian gold stir up incessant revolts in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Servia? And in what consists this duty of good neighbourhood? His lordship says, 'the Sultan is bound to give us a residence in some distant part of the interior, where we should have no means of communicating with the discontented in the Austrian States.' Is not this pointing out to him our residence of Kutayah? But the instructions given to Sir W. Parker are still more startling. It now appears that the gallant admiral was not sent to support the Sultan, but to take us on board, if, and only if, he should be invited by the Sultan through Sir Stratford Canning to take his squadron up to Constantinople—a thing rather difficult, as we happened at the very time to be somewhat closely guarded at Widder, on the northern boundary of Bulgaria. After all, I knew all this before; but what I am anxious to know is, how the Parliament will reconcile these despatches and the declaration of his lordship in the House of Commons (in March, 1850), that he was dissatisfied with the issue of the refugee question—that he could not help it—that the Sultan had pledged himself to detain us in the interior without any previous knowledge, not to say approbation, of the British ministry. I wish to know further, how they will reconcile Sir W. Parker's instructions, and the compliments on his energy in having sent the squadron to the support of the Sultan—compliments which his lordship acknowledged with pride. But enough; it is with a bitter smile that I write these lines—you will excuse me. I am a poor exile, sir, and there are mighty men who are able to do me more wrong in a day than I can digest in a year. For myself I would not care, but for my poor country, which I might yet help to become once more, if not great and glorious—greatness is relative, and glory is vain—but free."

deplorable condition of Europe. Some people may say that matters of importance should not be disclosed before the proper time. But take a case. The merchant, it is said, does not disclose his transactions before they are closed; but that is not true, because I cannot conceive a single merchant or broker who would not retain to himself the power of looking into all his transactions, whatever might be their importance or amount. (*Hear, hear.*) That is the opinion of the people. The clerks of the merchant must discover all the affairs to the master, and in a free country it is not the government, but the people who are the masters. (*Cheers.*) And as soon as the people look into these matters, I am convinced that the secret power of Russian diplomacy, which enables the Czar to put his foot upon the necks of nations, will at once recoil before the genius of publicity, and not have the power again and again to crush poor suffering humanity. (*Cheers.*) But so long as the people are not considered the masters of their own fate, Russian diplomacy will again and again triumph; for, as we experienced in Hungary, Russian diplomacy is the most successful and most immoral in the world. I hope, gentlemen, therefore, that you will raise your powerful voice against the secrecy of diplomacy; raise it in connexion with that question which you have honoured with your sympathy.

Your detractors say that demonstrations such as I have witnessed are not the public opinion of England; that Southampton, Manchester, and Birmingham, are not public opinion. (*Hear, hear.*) Let not this, however, be the impression among foreigners. They say, "What are these demonstrations of the people of England? As soon as Kossuth goes to the States not an Englishman will remember him or his opinions." I am convinced that it will not be so. (*Loud cheers.*) I am so convinced, because I have the honour of bidding farewell to the corporation of Southampton and its mayor. In four weeks the trumpet-sound of its welcome has risen into the roaring of cannon in acknowledgment of the existence of Hungary as a nation of many nations. (*Loud cheers.*) [M. Kossuth alluded to the fact of the national flag of Hungary having been saluted with twenty-one guns from the platform battery.] The feeling then, has increased in four weeks, instead of abating; and I have a full confidence that when I return to Europe I will see repeated petitions to Parliament, government resolutions in council, commercial resolutions in corporations, at public meetings, at dinners, and on every public occasion, resolutions that will show the autocrats of the world that when England pronounces upon any question she will keep that question alive, and that in keeping it alive she will not allow any power in Europe to contravene her will. (*Cheers.*) Remember that the greatness of England reposes on the manly resolution of her people.

Now, gentlemen, in bidding you farewell, let that farewell be connected with the declaration of the most warm sentiments of gratitude to you. Be assured, gentlemen, that if with the aid of God, my country once more becomes free, which I confidently believe soon will be, let me assure you that the name of Southampton will be engraved on the golden table of the history of Hungary, as a name out of which its liberties have

grown up, and millions have been restored to the blessings of social order. (*Loud cheers.*) Southampton will be a name eternally dear to my country, and handed down from generation to generation as a central object of affection. Why should it not be so? For, after all, it was the welcome I first received at Southampton which was the electric spark that lit up such a detonation throughout England. (*Loud cheers.*) However warm may have been the subsequent welcome of the people of England, there can be no doubt that it was in the great heart of Southampton we first found consolation and sympathy. (*Loud cheers.*) We found it in him to whom for three successive times you intrusted the chief honours of your municipality; a position which I hold to be very glorious, because it has not its root in party motives, but in the confidence of his fellow-countrymen. (*Loud cheers.*) And also I hope you are united with me in acknowledgment of the happy circumstance that in Southampton you have a representative of your younger brother, the United States of America. (*Loud cheering.*) Let him stand as the vanguard for the realisation of that unity between the two countries which will be the sure foundation of the freedom of the world. Therefore, gentlemen, let me personify the idea of England and the United States, by giving you the healths of the Mayor of Southampton and the Consul of the United States.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE following address by M. Kossuth to the people of the United States has been published by the *New York Herald*, together with an introductory letter to the editors and writers of the public journals of America :—

WASHINGTON, D. C. Oct. 17, 1851.

GENTLEMEN,—In the month of February last, Governor L. Ujhazi, late of Hungary, sent me a proclamation of the Hungarian leader, Louis Kossuth, addressed to the people of these United States, requesting to cause the same to be published, and to deposit its original, written in the Magyar language, in the archives of Congress.

When that valuable document came to my hands, a negotiation was pending, having for its object the liberation of Kossuth from the Turkish custody. This consideration induced me to consult confidentially with a number of distinguished citizens, occupying high and exalted stations, whom I knew to be the truest and warmest friends of the Hungarian cause and its great leader; and, finding that each of them concurred with me in the opinion that the publication of that document at that time might have defeated the object of the negotiation, I informed Governor Ujhazi of it; whereupon he authorised me to retain in my possession its original until it could be safely published.

This time has now arrived. The great Hungarian leader being already under the protection of the stars and stripes, and approaching these hospitable shores, there is no necessity of withholding it longer from the public eye.

Having set forth the foregoing explanation of the reasons why the proclamation referred to was not laid sooner before the people of these United States, to whom it is addressed, I respectfully beg for it the liberality of your columns.

The original of the proclamation will remain in my possession until the next session of Congress, when it will be respectfully deposited within the hands of the representatives of the people.

I have the honour to remain, with great respect, your obedient fellow-citizen and servant,

G. TOCHMAN.

TRANSLATION.

BROUSSA, March 27, 1850.

Two years ago, I, by God's providence, who would be only an humble citizen, held in my hands the destiny of the reigning house of Austria.

Had I been ambitious, or had I believed that this treacherous family were so basely wicked as they afterwards proved themselves to be, the tottering pillars of their throne would have fallen at my command, and buried the crowned traitors beneath their ruins, or would have scattered them like dust before a tempest, homeless exiles, bearing nothing but the remembrance of their perfidy, and that royalty which they ought to have lost through their own wickedness.

I, however, did not take advantage of these favourable circumstances, though the entire freedom of my dear native land was the only wish of my heart. My requests were of that moderate nature which, in the condition of Hungary and Europe, seemed best fitted for my countrymen. I asked of the King, not the complete independence of my beloved country—not even any new rights or privileges—but simply these three things:—

1. That the inalienable rights sanctioned by a thousand years, and by the constitution of my fatherland, should be guaranteed by a national and responsible Administration.

2. That every inhabitant of my country, without regarding language or religion, should be free and equal before the law—all classes having the same privileges and protection from the law.

3. That all the people of the Austrian empire that acknowledged the same person as Emperor whom we Hungarians recognised as King, and the same laws of succession, should have restored their ancient constitutional rights, of which they had been unjustly despoiled, modified to suit their wants and the spirit of the age.

The first demand was not for any new grant or concession, but simply a fresh guarantee. In the arrangement made with our ancestors, when, by their free will, they elevated the house of Hapsburg to the throne, a condition was made that the King should preserve the independence and constitution of the country. This independence and this constitution were the very vitality of our national being. During three centuries twelve Kings of the house of Hapsburg had sworn, in the presence of the eternal God, before ascending the throne, that they would preserve our independence and the constitution; and their lives are but a history of perpetual and accursed perjury. Yet such conduct did not weaken our fidelity. No nation ever manifested more faithfulness to their rulers; and, though we poor Hungarians made endless sacrifices, often at the expense of our national welfare—though these Kings, in times of peace, drew their support from us, and in times of war or danger relied upon the unconquerable strength of our army—though we ever trusted in their words, they deceived us a thousand times and made our condition worse.

While other nations were able to apply all their energies to promote the general welfare, and to develop their means of happiness, we had to stand on guard, like the watchmen mentioned in Scripture, for three centuries, to prevent our treacherous Kings from destroying entirely the foundation of our national existence—our constitution and independence.

I, as the representative of my countrymen, asked nothing more than a constitutional Ministry, whose responsibility would prevent the King from violating his oath.

The second demand was still less for any political right. We asked for nothing more than a reform in the internal administration of the State; a simple act of justice which the aristocracy owed the people: and in this how much the King would have gained! The strength of his throne would have been increased tenfold by thus winning the affections of his faithful people.

The third demand was prompted by humanity and fraternal feeling. It was the proper and holy mission of our nation as the oldest member of the empire, and possessing a constitutional form of government, to raise its voice in behalf of those sister nations under the same ruler, and who were united to us by so many ties of relationship. Lovers of freedom, we would not ask liberty for ourselves alone; we would not boast of privileges that others did not enjoy, but desired to be free, in fellowship with free nations around us. This motive was inspired by the conviction that two crowns—a constitutional and a despotic crown—could not be worn by the same head, no more than two opposing dispositions can harmonise in the same breast, or than a man can be good and evil at the same time.

The King and Royal family granted these requests, appealing to the sanctity of their oaths as a guarantee of their fulfilment; and I—weak in myself, but strong through the confidence of my countrymen, and the noble sympathy of the Austrian people—proclaimed everywhere, amid the raging storm of revolution, that “the house of Austria should stand; for, by the blessing of the Almighty, it had begun to move in the right direction, and would be just to its people.” It stood; and stood,

too, at a time when, whatever might have been the fate of Hungary, the revolutionary tempest, under my direction, would have blown away this antiquated and helpless dynasty like chaff before the winds of Heaven.

I not only preserved the house of Austria, but placed in its hands the materials of a long and glorious future—the foundations of an indestructible power in the affections of 32,000,000 people. I tendered them the fidelity and assistance of my own heroic Hungary, which alone was able to defend them against the assaults of the world. I afforded them the glorious opportunity—more glorious than had ever been presented before—of establishing an impenetrable barrier to protect freedom, civilisation, and progress against the Cossack power which now threatens Europe. To attain this honour, this glory, one thing only was necessary—that they should remain faithful to their oaths. But when was it that Austria was not treacherous? We look in vain for as much honour as is found even among robbers, in the Hapsburg family.

On the very day they signed the grant of those moderate demands of the Hungarian people, and solemnly swore before God and the nation to maintain them, they secretly resolved and planned the most cruel conspiracy against us. They determined to break their oaths, to desolate the land with insurrection, conflagration, and blood, till, feeble and exhausted under the burden of a thousand miseries, Hungary might be struck from the roll of living nations. They then hoped, by the power of the bayonet, and, if necessary, by the arms of Russia, to erect a united and consolidated empire, like the Russian, of sixteen various nations; they hoped to realise their long-conceived purpose of making themselves an absolute Power.

Never were so many hellish arts used against a nation before. Not suspecting a counter-revolution or an attack, we were not prepared to defend ourselves when suddenly we were surprised by danger. The perfidious Hapsburgs, destitute of all shame, and rejoicing in the anticipation of an easy victory, hesitated not to disclose before the civilised world their horrible plans—to subjugate us by the force of arms, to excite hatred of race, to call in the aid of robbers, incendiaries, and reckless insurgents.

At this crisis of great danger, when many of our ablest men even were ready to yield themselves to this decree of destruction, I stood among those who called the nation to arms; and, confiding in a just God, we cursed the cowards who were preparing to abandon their native land, to submit to a wicked despotism, and to purchase a miserable existence by sacrificing liberty. I called the nation to arms in self-defence. I acted not with blind presumption, and emotions of despair found no place in my breast—for he who despairs is not fit to guide a people. I estimated the valour and power of my country, and on the verge of a fearful struggle I had the faith to promise victory, if Hungary would remain true to herself, and fortify her breast with the impulsive fire of a strong will.

To sustain the stern resolution, to combat such an enemy, we were supported, first, above everything, by our unshaken confidence in God, whose ways are past finding out, but who supports the right, and blesses the cause of an honest people fighting for freedom; secondly, by a love of country and the holy desire of liberty, which make the child a giant, and increase the strength of the valiant; and, thirdly, by your example, noble Americans! you, the chosen nation of the God of Liberty! My countrymen—a religious, a God-venerating people—in whose hearts burned the all-powerful feeling of patriotism, were inspired by the influence of your sublime example.

Free citizens of America! from your history, as from the star of hope in midnight gloom, we drew our confidence and resolution in the doubtful days of severe trial. Accept, in the name of my countrymen, this declaration as a tribute of gratitude. And you, excellent people, who were worthy to be chosen by the Almighty as an example to show the world how to deserve freedom, how to win it, and how to use it—you will allow that the Hungarians, though weaker and less fortunate than you, through the decaying influences of the old European society, are worthy to be your imitators, and that you would be pleased to see the stars of your glorious flag emblazon the double cross of the Hungarian coat-of-arms. When despotism hurled defiance at us, and began the bloody war, your inspiring example upheaved the

nation as one man, and legions, with all the means of war, appeared to rise from nothing, as the tender grass shoots up after spring showers.

Though we were inferior in numbers to the enemy, and could not compare with their well-trained forces—though our arms were shorter than theirs—yet the heroic sons of Hungary supplied the want of numbers by indomitable bravery, and lengthened their weapons by a step further in advance.

The world knows how bravely the Hungarians fought. And it is not for me, who was identified with the war—who, obeying the wishes of the nation, stood faithfully at the helm of Government—to extol the heroic deeds of my countrymen. I may mention, however, that while every day it became more evident that the heart of Europe beat to the pulsations of the Hungarian struggle, we maintained the unequal conflict alone. Cut off from the rest of the world and all external aid till a year ago, we laid the haughty power of the tyrant house of Hapsburg in the dust; and, had it not been for the intentional and traitorous disregard of my commands by one of our leaders, who afterwards shamefully betrayed the country, not only would the Imperial family have been driven from Vienna, but the entire Austrian nation would have been liberated; and, though by such treason this base family saved themselves from destruction, they were so far humbled in March, 1849, that, not knowing how to be just, they implored foreign aid, and threw themselves at the feet of the Czar.

The Emperor hoped that the Hungarian people would be terrified by his threatenings, and would prefer slavery to death; but he was deceived. He sold his own liberty to Russia, for aid to enslave his people. The choice of a coward is to purchase a miserable, ephemeral existence, even though at the cost of his honour and independence.

The Austrians fought against us, not only with arms and by the aid of traitors, but with studied and unceasing slander. They never ceased to impeach our motives, falsify our conduct, and vaunt the pretended justice of their own cause before the judgment seat of public opinion. Efforts were constantly made to weaken among the people of Hungary and among the nations of the world that sympathy and force which spring from a righteous cause.

Free citizens of North America! you have given, in spite of these slanders, the fullest sympathy for the cause of my country. We had no opportunity to explain to you our motives and conduct, and refute the libels against us; but we said, and how truly your noble and magnanimous conduct shows it, that such a nation knows how to defend a just and holy cause, and will give us its sympathy; and this conviction inspired us with more confidence. Oh that you had been a neighbouring nation; the Old World would now be free, and would not have to endure again those terrible convulsions and rivers of blood which are inevitable. But the end is with God, and He will choose the means to fulfil His purposes.

Ye great and free people, receive the thanks of my country for your noble sympathy, which was a great moral support in our terrible conflict.

When the house of Austria sold itself to the Autocrat, we, who were fatigued with our hard-earned victory, but not subdued or exhausted, saw with apprehension the spectre of Russian invasion—an invasion which violated the laws of nations, which was openly hostile to the cause of civilisation, the rights of man, of order, and even to that principle which the diplomacy of Europe calls "the balance of power." I could not believe that the Governments of Europe would permit this invasion; for I believe they would intervene to effect a treaty of peace, if not so much on our account, yet to prevent Austria becoming the vassal of Russia—to check the growing strength and influence of the latter power in the East.

We desired an honourable peace, and were willing to submit to any reasonable terms. We many times tendered the olive-branch: We asked the constitutional Governments of Europe to interpose. They heard us not. The haughty Imperial family, forgetting that they were the real traitors, rejected every proposition, with the defying expression that they "did not treat with rebels." Ay, more—they threw our ambassadors into prison; and one of them, the noblest of Hungary's sons, they cowardly and impiously murdered. Still we hesitated to tear asunder for ever the bonds that united us. Ten months we fought, and fought victoriously, in defence;

and it was only when every attempt to bring about an honourable peace failed ; when Francis Joseph, who was never our King, dared, in his manifesto of the 4th of March, 1849, to utter the curse "that Hungary should exist no longer ;" when there was no hope of arresting the Russian invasion by diplomacy ; when we saw that we must fight to save ourselves from being struck off the earth as a nation ; when the house of Austria, by its endless acts of injustice and cruelty, and by calling in the aid of a foreign Power, had extinguished in the heart of the Hungarian people every spark of affection—then, and then only, after so much patience, the nation resolved to declare its absolute independence. Then spoke the National Assembly the words which had long been uttered by every patriotic tongue—"Francis Joseph, thou beardless young Nero ! thou darest to say Hungary shall exist no more ! We, the people, answer, we do and will exist ; but you and your treacherous house shall stand no longer ! You shall no more be Kings of Hungary ! Be for ever banished, ye perfidious traitors to the nation !"

We were not only ready to accept any terms that were honourable, but we carefully abstained from doing anything which would give the Czar a pretence, which he had long sought, to meddle with our affairs.

The Hungarian nation loved freedom as the best gift of God, but it never thought of commencing a crusade against Kings in the name of liberty. In Hungary there were none of those propagandists who alarm so much the rulers of the Old World. There were no secret societies plotting conspiracies. My countrymen were not influenced by the theories of Communists or Socialists, nor were they what the Conservatives call anarchists. The nation desired justice, and knew how to be just to all, irrespective of rank, language, or religion. A people so worthy of freedom were generous enough to leave something to time, and to be satisfied with a progressive development. No violence was used ; no just right was attacked ; and even some of those institutions were left undisturbed which, in their principle and origin, were unjust, but which, having existed for centuries, could not be abolished at once with impunity.

The Hungarian people did not wish to oppress any—not even the aristocracy : they were more ready to make sacrifices than to punish the descendants of nobility for the evils of misgovernment, and of those institutions which emanated from their ancestors ; nor would they let the many suffer for the sins of the few.

There was no anarchy among us. Even in the bloodiest conflicts, when the human passions are most excited, there was the most perfect order and security of property and person. How did the conduct of my noble countrymen compare with that of the "order-making" Austria ! Whenever the whirlwind of war ceased for awhile, when the social elements were left in chaos, the instinctive moral feeling of this incorruptible people, in the absence of all government, preserved better order and safety than legions of police. A common spirit animated the whole nation—no secret aims, no personal or local attacks, but a bold and open defence in the face of the world. Following the example of your great Washington, we adopted as our policy conciliation, justice, and legality, and scrupulously observed the laws of nations.

The Russians and Austrians made the soil of Wallachia the basis of military operations : and the Turkish Government, which either knew not its own interests, or was unable to defend them, silently permitted this violation of treaties and the rights of nations, thus humbling itself and betraying its own weakness. Several times we drove our enemies across the Wallachian boundaries ; for it was only necessary for our victorious army to advance into the countries of the Lower Danube to rouse the inhabitants against the Russians, and to transfer the war to their own soil. But we respected the law of nations, and stopped our conquering forces on the confines of Wallachia. Her soil was sacred to us. Austria left Galicia almost unprotected, and collected all her forces to attack us. Had we at this time sent a small portion of our army to Poland, it would have caused a general insurrection ; and that heroic but unfortunate nation would have revenged herself by throwing the Russian empire into a state of revolution. But we acted in defence only, and we deemed it a sin to precipitate other nations into a terrible and uncertain war, and we checked our sympathies. Besides, we avoided giving the Emperor of Russia a

pretence for a war of retaliation against us. Oh it was foolish! for the despotic hypocrite made a pretence; he called our own struggle the Hungarian-Polish revolution, though the whole number of Poles in our armies did not exceed four thousand.

We doubted not that the European Powers would negotiate a peace for us, or that they would at least prevent the Russian invasion. They said they pitied us, honoured our efforts, and condemned the conduct of Austria; but they could not help us, because Europe required a powerful Austrian empire, and they must support it, in spite of its evils, as a balance against Russia in central and eastern Europe. What a mistake! What diplomacy! Is it not as clear as the sun that the Czar, in aiding Austria, would do it in such a manner as to obtain the greatest advantages for himself? Was it not manifest that Austria, who had always, through the help of Hungary, strength enough to oppose Russia, would, when she destroyed Hungary by Russian bayonets, no longer be an independent Power, but merely the *avant-garde* of the Muscovite? Yet Europe permitted the invasion. It is an indelible mark of blindness and shame. It is ever thus in the imbecile Old World. They treated us just as they treat Turkey. They assert always that the peace of Europe and the balance of power require the preservation of the Turkish empire,—that Turkey must exist to check the advance of the Cossack power. But, notwithstanding this, England and France destroyed the Turkish fleet of Navarino, a fleet which never could have injured them, but might have contended with Russia in the Black Sea.

Always the same worn-out, old, and fatal system of policy, while Russia, ever alert, seizes province after province from Turkey. She has made herself the sovereign of Moldavia and Wallachia, and is sapping the foundations of the Ottoman empire. Already Turkish officials are more dependent on the lowest Russian agents than upon their own Grand Vizier.

Oh that Hungary had received but a slight token of moral support from the European Powers—from those powers whose dreams are troubled with fears of the advance of the Cossack. Had only an English or a French agent come to us during our struggle, what might he not have done! He, too, would have seen and estimated our ability to sustain ourselves; he would have observed the humanity, the love of order, the reverence for liberty, which characterised the Hungarian nation. Had these two Powers permitted a few ships to come to Osara, laden with arms for the noble patriots who had asked in vain for weapons, the Hungarians would now have stood a more impregnable barrier against Russia than all the arts of a miserable and expensive diplomacy.

There was a time when we, with the neighbouring Poles, saved Christianity in Europe. And now I hesitate not to avow before God, that we alone—that my own Hungary—could have saved Europe from Russian domination. As the war in Hungary advanced, its character became changed. In the end, the results it contemplated were higher and far more important; nothing less, in fact, than universal freedom, which was not thought of in the beginning. This was not a choice; it was forced upon us by the policy of the European nations, who, disregarding their own interests, suffered Russia to invade and provoke us. Yes, we were martyrs to the cause of freedom, and this glorious but painful destiny was imposed upon us.

Though my dear native Hungary is trodden down, and the flower of her sons executed, or wandering exiles, and I, her Governor, writing from my prison in this distant Asiatic Turkey, I predict—and the Eternal God hears my prediction—that there can be no freedom for the continent of Europe, and that the Cossacks from the shores of the Don will water their steeds in the Rhine, unless liberty be restored to Hungary. It is only with Hungarian freedom that the European nations can be free; and the smaller nationalities especially can have no future without us.

Nor could the united Russo-Austrian forces have conquered my heroic countrymen had they not found a traitor to aid them in the man whom, believing in his honesty, and on account of his skill, I raised from obscurity. Enjoying my confidence, the confidence of the nation and the army, I placed him at the head of our forces, giving him the most glorious part to perform ever granted to man. What an immortality was within his reach had he been honest! But he betrayed his country. Cursed be his name for ever! I will not open my bleeding wounds by the sad remembrance of

this event, and will merely mention that the surrender at Vilagos was the crowning act of a long system of treachery secretly practised—by not using the advantages which victories put in his hands—by not fulfilling my commands under cunning pretences—by destroying national feeling in the army—by weakening its confidence, and by the destruction, through unnecessary exposures and dangers, of that portion of the army that he could not corrupt, in his base designs to make himself military dictator. God, in His inscrutable wisdom, knows why the traitor was permitted to be successful. In vain fell the bravest of men in this long war—in vain were the exertions of my countrymen—in vain did the aged father send, with pious heart, his only son, the prop of his declining years, and the bride her bridegroom—in vain did all private interests yield to the loftiest patriotism—in vain arose the prayers of a suffering people—in vain did the ardent wishes of every friend of freedom accompany our efforts—in vain did the genius of liberty hope for success. My country was martyred! Her rulers are hangmen! They have spoken the impious words that the liberty-loving nation "lies at the feet of the Czar!" Instead of the thankful prayers of faith, of hope, and of love, the air of my native land is filled with the cries of despair; and I, her chosen leader, am an exile. The diplomacy of Europe has changed Turkish hospitality to me and my companions into hopeless bondage. It is a painful existence. My youthful children have begun the morning of their life in the hands of my country's destroyer, and I—but no; desponding does not become me, for I am a man. I am not permitted, or I would say, I envy the dead. Who is unfortunate? I am in Broussa, where the great Hannibal once lived an exile, homeless like myself, but rich in services performed for his country, while I can claim only fidelity to mine. The ingratitude of his nation went with him in his banishment, but the sorrowful love of my countrymen follows me to my place of exile. To thee, my God, I offer thanks that thou didst deem me worthy to suffer for dear Hungary. Let me suffer afflictions, but accept them as propitiatory sacrifices for my native land!

And thou, Hungarian nation, yield not to despair! Be patient; hope, and wait thy time! Though all men forget thee, the God of Justice will not. Thy sufferings are recorded, and thy tears remembered. The blood of thy martyrs—thy noble sons—which moistened thy soil, will have its fruits. The victims which daily fall for thee are, like the evergreen cypress over the graves of the dead, the symbol of thy resurrection. The races whom thy destroyer excited against thee by lies and cunning, will be undeceived; they will know that thou didst not fight for pre-eminence, but for the common liberty; that thou wast their brother, and bled for them also. The temporary victory of our enemies will but serve to take the film from the eyes of the deceived people. The sentiment of sympathy for our sufferings will inspire among the smaller states and races the wish for a fraternal confederation—for that which I always urged as the only safe policy and guarantee of freedom for them all.

The realisation of this idea will hurl the power of the haughty despots to the abyss of the past; and Hungary, free, surrounded by free nations, will be great, glorious, and independent.

At the moment when I hardly hoped for further consolation on earth, behold the God of Mercy freed my wife, and enabled her, through a thousand dangers, to reach me in my place of exile! Like a hunted deer, she could not for five months find in her own native land a place of rest. The executioners of the beardless Nero placed a reward upon her head; but she has escaped the tyrants. She was to me and to my exiled countrymen like the rainbow to Noah, for she brought intelligence and hope in the unshaken souls of the Hungarian people, and in the affectionate sympathy of the neighbouring nations who had fought against us. They had aided the wife of the much-slandered Governor of Hungary.

Although the sympathy of the world often depends upon the result of action, and the successful are applauded, still Hungary, by her noble bearing and trials, has drawn the attention of the world. The sympathy which she has excited in both worlds, and the thundering curse which the lips of millions have pronounced against her destroyers, announce, like the roaring of the wind before the storm, the coming retribution of Heaven.

Among the nations of the world there are two which demand our gratitude and

affection. England, no less powerful than she is free and glorious, supported us by her sympathy, and by the approving voice of her noblest sons, and the millions of her people. And that chosen land of freedom beyond the ocean—the all-powerful people of the United States, with their liberal government—inspired us with hope, and gave us courage by their deep interest in our cause and sufferings, and by their condemnation of our executioners.

The President of the United States, whom the confidence of a free people had elevated to the loftiest station in the world, in his message to Congress announced that the American Government would have been the first to recognise the independence of Hungary. And the Senators and Representatives in Congress marked the destroyers of my country's liberty with the stigma of ignominy, and expressed, with indignant feelings, their contempt for the conduct of Austria, and their wish to break the diplomatic intercourse with such a Government. They summoned the despots before the judgment-seat of humanity; they proclaimed that the world would condemn them; they declared that Austria and Russia had been unjust, tyrannical, and barbarous, and deserved to be reprobated by mankind, while Hungary was worthy of universal sympathy.

The Hungarians, more fortunate than I, who were able to reach the shores of the New World, were received by the people and Government of the United States in the most generous manner—yes, like brothers. With one hand they hurled anathemas at the despots, and with the other welcomed the humble exiles to partake of that glorious American liberty, more to be valued than the glitter of crowns. Our hearts are filled with emotions to see how this great nation extends its sympathy and aid to every Hungarian who is so fortunate as to arrive in America. The sympathetic declaration of such a people, under such circumstances, with similar sentiments in England, is not a mere sigh which the wind blows away, but is prophetic of the future. What a blessed sight to see whole nations elevated by such sentiments!

Free citizens of America! you inspired my countrymen to noble deeds; your approval imparted confidence; your sympathy consoled in adversity, gave a ray of hope for the future, and enabled us to bear the weight of our heavy burden. Your fellow-feeling will sustain us till we realise the hope, the faith, "that Hungary is not lost for ever." Accept, in the name of my countrymen, the acknowledgment of our warmest gratitude and our high respect.

I, who know Hungary so well, firmly believe she is not lost; and the intelligent citizens of America have decided, not only with impulsive kindness, but with reason and policy, to favour the unfortunate, but not subjugate Hungary. The sound of that encouraging voice is not like a funeral dirge, but as the shrill trumpet that will call the world to judgment.

Who does not see that Austria, even in her victory, has given herself a mortal wound? Her weakness is betrayed. The world no longer believes that Europe needs the preservation of this decaying empire. It is evident that its existence is a curse to mankind; it can never promote the welfare of society. The magic of its imagined power is gone; it was a delusion that can deceive no longer. Among all the races of this empire—not excepting the hereditary States—there is none that does not despise the reigning family of Hapsburg. This power has no moral ground of support; its vain dreams of a united empire, for which it has committed the most unheard-of crimes, are proved to be mere ravings, at which the world laughs. No one loves or respects it; and, when it falls, not a tear of regret will follow it to the grave. And fall it surely will. That moment Russia withdraws her support, the decayed edifice will crumble to dust. A shot fired by an English or by an American vessel from the Adriatic would be like the trumpet at the city of Jericho. And this impious, foolish Government thinks to control fate by the hangman's cord. How long will Russia be able to assist? This Czar, who boasts that his mission is to be the scourge of all the nations striving for liberty,—will not the Almighty, whose vicegerent he profanely assumes to be, blast the miserable boaster? The very character of his Government is a declaration of war against the rights and interests of humanity, and the existence of other nations. Will the world suffer this long? Not long.

The Hungarian nation, in her war, has not only gained a consciousness of her own

strength, but she has forced the conviction into the minds of other nations that she deserves to exist and to be independent; and she can show justly that her existence and independence are essential to the cause of liberty in Europe. No, no! Hungary is not lost. By her faith, bravery, and by her foresight, which teaches her to abide her time, she will be yet among the foremost in the war of universal liberty.

You, noble Americans, we bless in the name of the God of Liberty! To you who have summoned the murderers of my countrymen before the judgment-seat of the world—to you, who are the first judges of this court, I will bring the complaints of my nation, and before you I will plead her cause. When the house of Hapsburg, with the aid of a foreign army, invaded my country, and had destroyed, by their manifesto of the 4th of March, 1849, the foundation upon which the union with Austria rested, there remained for Hungary no alternative than the Declaration of Independence which the National Assembly unanimously voted on the 14th of April, 1849, and which the whole nation solemnly accepted, and sealed with their blood.

I declare to you, in the most solemn manner, that all which has taken place, or that may hereafter take place, proceeding from individuals or Government, contrary to this declaration, which is in perfect accord with the fundamental law of Hungary, is illegal and unjust.

Before you I assert, that the accusation that the Magyar race was unjust to the other races—by means of which a portion of the Servians, Wallachians, Slavonians, and Germans, dwelling in Hungary, was excited against us—is an impious slander, circulated by the house of Hapsburg, which shrinks from no crime to weaken the united forces of our united army, to conquer one race after another, and thus bring them all under the yoke of slavery.

It is true, some of the races in Hungary had reason to complain: but these subjects of complaint were the inevitable consequences of the pre-existing state of things and the Austrian interference. But the Croatians had no reason to complain. This race of half a million, in a separate province, had a National Assembly of its own, and enjoyed greater privileges than even the Hungarians. They contributed proportionally but half as much in taxes. They possessed equal rights with Hungary; whilst the Hungarian Protestants, on account of their religion, were not suffered to hold lands in Croatia. Their grievances and ours were the same, in the perpetual violation of the constitution by the imperial Government. But their own peculiar grievances arose from the evils of former times, and from the Austrian system of government, which forcibly placed the Slavonian, Servian, and Wallachian boundary districts on the German military footing.

The moment, however, our people became free and enjoyed their political rights they became just, and placed all things upon the basis of freedom and perfect equality. But some of these races, blinded by the infernal slanders and suggestions of Austria, took up arms against us. This people, who for centuries had endured slavery, fought against their own freedom! God forgive them! They knew not what they did.

In America people of different languages dwell, but who says that it is unjust for senators and representatives to use the English language in their debates, and to make it the official language of the Government?

This is what the Magyar race asked in Hungary. There was this difference only, that in America it was not necessary to establish this by law, for the original settlers had stamped their language in the country; but in Hungary a law was necessary to make the Magyar the official language. The use of the Latin language—a bad relic of the middle ages, which the clergy and aristocracy preserved as something precious, imitating the ancient despots who caused the laws to be written in small letters and placed on high towers that the people might not understand their rights—had been retained among us. It was necessary to have a living, spoken, popular language. And what other could we have than the noble Magyar?

How often have I and other leaders with me said to my countrymen, that they must be strictly just, and seek their future greatness, not in the predominance of one race, but in the perfect equality of all? My counsel was adopted, and made the basis of the Government. The same freedom, the same privileges, without regard to language or religion, the free development of each race under the protection of the

law, were accorded to all. We not only guaranteed the right to use any language in the churches and schools, but we afforded aid for the education and development of each nationality. The principle we announced was that either the State should protect no religion, no nationality—leaving all to the free action of the people—or that it should protect all alike.

In the general administration, the predominance of our language, and, consequently, the race that spoke it, was a necessity; but, in the administration of county affairs, which in some respects resembled that of the individual States of North America, the use of each language was granted. In the courts, in the trial by jury, in the right of petition, in the republication of all laws and ordinances, the various races had the right to use their own language. In one word, nothing was left undone which could tend to place all on a footing of the most perfect equality. True, we did not, as Austria has done for political purposes solely, to enslave all the people, and make the brave Hungarians a subordinate nation, make a territorial division of the lands. We respected rights and wished to progress, but were too honest to commence a system of spoliation. And who has been benefited by this policy of the Vienna bureaucracy? Not even those on whom the pretended favours have been conferred.

When those races clamoured for national rights, I boldly demanded what was wanting, and what could be granted without injury to the country. No one answered but reckless men, who spoke of territorial divisions. The Servians desired to have the Comitatus Bacs, and the three counties of the Banat, as a separate Servian State. The Wallachians wished to have Transylvania. They (the Servians) did not consider that they owned no separate portion of the land of Hungary, and that in Bacs and the Banat were Wallachians, Germans, and Magyars, who could not be made subordinate to the less numerous Servians. So, also, in Transylvania, there were Magyars and Saxons, who would complain of such a connexion with Wallachia.

As there were various races, speaking different languages, in Hungary, and divided into as many municipalities, who could blame us for laying the foundation of government in a just equality to all? Croatia alone was a separate territory: and how often have we said to her, that if she would remain in union with us we would give her the hand of brotherhood, but if she wished to separate we would not hinder her? We could not, however, permit such a division of Hungary as would have destroyed her as a nation. It was Austria who sowed the seeds of division and dissolution.

Citizens of America! to you I declare honestly that my aim in the federation of Hungary with the smaller nations was to secure the nationality and independence of each, and the freedom of all; and, had anything been wanting which could have been justly granted to any or all of the races in Hungary, the Magyars had only to know it, and it would have been performed with readiness; for freedom, and not power, was their desire.

Finally, I declare that, by the Declaration of Independence by which I was elected Governor of Hungary, I protest, so long as the people do not by their free will release me from that office, that no one can legally control the affairs of government but myself. This protestation is not made in a feeling of vanity or desire to be conspicuous, but from respect to the inherent rights of my countrymen. I strove not for power. The brilliancy of a crown would not seduce me. The final aim of my life, after having liberated my dear Hungary, was to end my days as a private citizen and a humble farmer.

My country, in the hour of danger, called upon me to assist in the struggle for freedom. I responded to its call. Others, doubtless, were more able, who could have won more fame; but I will yield to none in the purity of my motives. Perhaps it was confidence in my ardent patriotism and honesty of purpose, which induced the people to give me the power. They believed freedom would be safe in my hands. I felt my weakness, and told them I could not promise them liberty unless they were united as one man, and would lay aside all personal, all sectional interests. I foretold that, if the nation was divided, it would fall. As long as they followed my injunctions, and were united, they were unconquerable—they performed miracles of valour. The fall of Hungary commenced the day they began to divide. Not knowing the secret causes of this division, and not suspecting treachery, and wishing to inspire confidence, to

give skill and all the elements of success to our army, and caring nothing for my own fame, doing all for the good of my country, I gave command of the forces to another, I was assured by the most solemn engagements, by the man to whom I gave the power, that he would use it for the welfare and independence of the nation, and that he would be responsible to me and the people for the fulfilment of these conditions. He betrayed his country and gave the army to the enemy. Had we succeeded after this terrible blow, he should have met his reward. And even now he is not freed from his accountability to the nation, no more than I, in the moral right and sense, ceased to be the Governor of Hungary. A short time may reverse again the fate of all. The aurora of liberty breaks upon my vision, even at Broussa.

I have, therefore, intrusted to Ladislaus Ujhazi, Obergespurn of the Saros comitat, and civil governor of Comorn, the mission to be my representative, and through me the representative of the Hungarian nation, to the people and Government of the United States, hoping and believing that so generous a people will not judge the merits of our cause by a temporary defeat, but will recognise Governor Ujhazi, and his companions, with the accustomed kindness.

May God bless your country for ever! May it have the glorious destiny to share with other nations the blessings of that liberty which constitutes its own happiness and fame! May your great example, noble Americans, be to other nations the source of social virtue; your power be the terror of all tyrants—the protector of the distressed; and your free country ever continue to be the asylum for the oppressed of all nations.

Written at my place of banishment, Broussa, Asia Minor, March 27, 1850.

LOUIS KOSSUTH,

Governor of Hungary.

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